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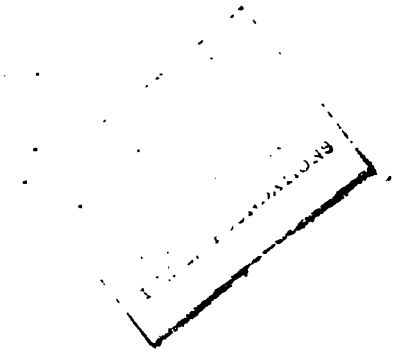

Grover Cleveland

LIFE

AND

PUBLIC SERVICES

OF

HON. GROVER CLEVELAND,

THE MODEL CITIZEN, EMINENT JURIST, AND EFFICIENT REFORM GOVERNOR OF THE EMPIRE STATE, ALSO THE UNANIMOUS NOMINEE OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY FOR THE

PRESIDENCY OF THE UNITED STATES.

BY HON. WM. DORSHEIMER,

MEMBER OF THE U. S. CONGRESS AND LATE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK, THE BOSOM FRIEND AND CHOSEN BIOGRAPHER OF GOVERNOR CLEVELAND.

ALSO

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF THE

STATESMAN AND SENATOR,

HON. THOMAS A. HENDRICKS,

DEMOCRATIC NOMINEE FOR VICE-PRESIDENT.

BY W. U. HENSEL,

EDITOR OF THE LANCASTER, PA., INTELLIGENCER, AND CHAIRMAN OF THE DEMOCRATIC STATE COMMITTEE OF PENNSYLVANIA.

PROFUSELY ILLUSTRATED.

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PREFACE.

CAMPAIGN Biographies are a national necessity. Why? Curiosity concerning candidates prompts many persons to secure and read them, but there is a broader and deeper reason for their production than the demand of mere curiosity.

Our Presidents are far from being absolute monarchs. The humblest citizen has no need to stand in personal fear of our Chief Magistrate. He is a citizen among his fellow-citizens, like them amenable to the laws of the land. And yet the Presidency is no *sinecure*. The President is not a figure head to the good "Ship of State." Nor is he the commander. He is rather the pilot. His hand is on the helm. He directs the movements so long as they be presumptively right and reasonably safe; but there is a commander in the embodied nation whose word can dismiss the pilot, and whose might can control the ship, whether it be for her safety or her loss. The people know their power. They make and

unmake Presidents. But they do both these duties with reason and for cause, and this is why the thoughtful people will read about the candidates, for whom their votes are asked. Here rests, therefore, the national necessity for Campaign Biographies.

And this Biography of the Democratic candidates for our highest national offices is a most worthy one? Long before the nominating Convention met, careful inquiry was entered into to discover the certainties, the probabilities, and the possibilities of the approaching contest. The certainties were few; the possibilities were unlimited. But all promising lines were worked, and, at no small expense, material was gathered concerning every probable candidate. In none of these experimental efforts was there better success than in the case of those on whom the uncertain honors fell at last.

Forwarded beyond all compeers by this preliminary work, and vigorously pushed, night and day, by competent authors, this Biography of the Democratic nominees is believed to be the first in the field, and wholly worthy of the nation's patronage.

THE PUBLISHERS.

—TO—

THE WIDEST DIFFUSION OF

POLITICAL INTELLIGENCE;

NOT

TO THE FURTHERANCE OF

MERELY PARTIZAN ENDS;

IS

THIS VOLUME DEDICATED.

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THE LIFE

OF

GROVER CLEVELAND,

GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK

AND

DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

BY

HON. WILLIAM DORSHEIMER,

EX-LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK AND NOW

MEMBER OF CONGRESS.

AUTHOR'S NOTE.

I UNDERTOOK the composition of the following sketch of Grover Cleveland's life under circumstances which made it difficult to refuse. I had known him since he first came to Buffalo, and was well-acquainted with the events of his life in that city. I also knew the men with whom he was associated there, and I know most of those who are now his friends and adherents. These qualifications for the task are, however, subject to serious limitations. It is impossible to speak of the living with freedom, either by way of praise or blame. Besides, in some of the events referred to, I have been an actor, and cannot deal with them with complete impartiality. My work had to be done so quickly that it cannot fail to have serious imperfections, but it is the expression of my deliberate judgment, and is, I believe, substantially correct.

WILLIAM DORSHEIMER.

HYDE PARK, N. Y., July 31st, 1884.

CHAPTER I

PARENTAGE AND EARLY LIFE.

GROVER CLEVELAND was born at Caldwell, Essex County, N. J., on the 18th day of March, 1837. His father, Richard F. Cleveland, was a Presbyterian minister, the son of William Cleveland, a watch-maker, who lived at Norwich, Conn. His mother was Anna Neal, the daughter of an Irishman, a bookseller and publisher in Baltimore, Md., who had married Barbara Real, a German Quakeress, of Germantown, Pa. In 1841, the Rev. Richard F. Cleveland moved to Fayetteville, Onondaga County, N. Y. The family lived there nine years and then removed to Clinton, Oneida County; and in 1853 to Holland Patent, a small village fifteen miles north of Utica. At this time Richard Cleveland was described as a man of liberal culture, with a fine voice and considerable talents. Three weeks after he began his ministry at Holland Patent he died, leaving a widow and nine children, of whom Grover was the third.

The mother upon whom this sudden responsibility had fallen was a woman of dignified appearance, with a kindly face and unusual strength of

character. She combined the traits of her Irish and German ancestors. She lived to rear and educate her large family and died in April, 1882. Mr. and Mrs. Cleveland are buried in the cemetery at Holland Patent. Their children have erected a monument to mark their graves It bears the following inscriptions:

Rev. R. F. CLEVELAND,
Pastor at
Holland Patent,
Died Oct. 1, 1853
Aged 49 years.

ANNA NEAL,
Wife of
R. F. Cleveland,
Died July 10, 1882,
Aged 78 years.
Her children arise up
And call her blessed.

Grover had received such teaching as the country schools could furnish. But his father's narrow means compelled him to earn his living as soon as possible, and when he was fourteen years of age he became a clerk in a country store at Fayetteville. His salary the first year was fifty dollars, and he was to have one hundred dollars the second year. The removal of the family to Clinton gave Grover an opportunity to attend the academy there, and he left Fayetteville before the end of the second year. At Clinton he pursued the usual preparatory studies, intending to enter

Hamilton College. But his father's death shut him out of college and compelled him to begin the struggle of life. He was then seventeen years old.

His elder brother William had found employment as a teacher in the New York Institution for the Blind, which is situated on Ninth Avenue between Thirty-third and Thirty-fourth streets. In October, 1853, William was appointed principal in the male department, and about the same time Grover was appointed his assistant. The pupils were taught orally, there being at that time few text-books which could be read by the sense of touch. Grover remained at the institution a little more than a year. He passed the winter of 1854–5 at his mother's house in Holland Patent. This was the last of his home life. A neighbor, the late Ingham Townsend, who had become interested in the youth, proposed to him that he should enter college with a view of making the ministry his profession, but the young man's mind was already fixed upon the law, and declining his friend's offer, he asked him for a loan of twenty-five dollars, to carry him to Cleveland, Ohio, where he hoped for employment in a lawyer's office. On his way west he stopped in Buffalo to visit his uncle, Lewis F. Allen. Mr. Allen, who is still living at an advanced age, was one of the most influential citizens of Buffalo. He was the owner of a large farm on Grand Island, in the Niagara

river, where he had a herd of short-horn cattle, and lived at Black Rock, formerly a separate town, but which had been lately annexed to Buffalo. Mr. Allen's house is pleasantly situated on the bank of the river, and in the midst of considerable grounds. It is an ample old-fashioned brick building, and was built by General Peter B. Porter, who lived there for many years. A broad hall runs from the front door to the western piazza, which commands a wide view of the Niagara and the Canadian shore. A mile or two to the north-west are the ruins of Fort Erie, the scene of desperate fighting during the War of 1812, in which General Porter had been greatly distinguished. At this point the river is an interesting sight. It sweeps by with a current of between six and seven miles an hour and its broad green surface is flecked with foam and broken by countless eddies. It is not difficult for one who looks upon the tumultuous river and listens to its deep voice to imagine that it feels some premonition of the agony which awaits it below. Grover was no stranger to his uncle's hospitable roof. He had made frequent visits there during his boyhood. He told Mr. Allen of his intention to go to Cleveland and study law. But his uncle strongly advised him to remain in Buffalo. The young man had no acquaintances in Cleveland, while Mr. Allen knew all the principal people in Buffalo and held close and friendly relations with

them. Mr. Allen had, not long before, begun the compilation of the "Short-horn Herd Book," and he proposed that Grover should assist him, offering him compensation and a comfortable home. In the autumn, on Mr. Allen's application, Grover entered the law office of Henry W. Rogers and Denis Bowen, who, under the firm name of Rogers & Bowen, did a large business at the bar of Erie County. Thus began Grover Cleveland's life in Buffalo.

It may be well enough to consider his surroundings. Buffalo was then a city with about one hundred thousand inhabitants. It was a commercial and manufacturing community, and held in its control the lake commerce, then growing into great dimensions. There were many notable men among its citizens. Mr. Fillmore had two years before left the Presidency and returned to live there. His neighbor, Nathan K. Hall, who had served in his cabinet as Postmaster-General, was United States Judge of the Northern District of New York. Solomon G. Haven, a lawyer of remarkable talent, then a member of Congress, was the leader of the bar. Retired from his profession and from politics was Albert H. Tracy, who may be described as the most interesting and distinguished figure in Buffalo at that time. He had been chosen to Congress before he was old enough to take his seat, and had served in the House of Representatives during the admin-

istrations of Monroe and John Quincy Adams; he had been for eight years in the State Senate; and in the Court of Errors he had won a judicial reputation, hardly inferior to any in the history of the State. He had acted both with the Whig and the Democratic parties. But it was his misfortune to be out of relation, in both instances, with the leader of his parties. He despised Jackson, and disliked Clay. He had assisted Seward, Weed, and Fillmore to create the Whig party, and left it in 1840, in the hour of its triumph. Mr. Webster tried to persuade him into Tyler's cabinet with the offer of the Treasury Department, but he declined, preferring, doubtless, to retain his Democratic associations which the acceptance of Mr. Webster's offer would have broken. Mr. Tracy never held office afterwards. He devoted so much of his time as was necessary to the care of his estate, but gave himself chiefly to reading and the society of those who interested him. Mr. Tracy exercised a great influence over all young men who came within his reach, and it is impossible to speak of Buffalo at that time without recalling his gracious presence, his kindly counsels and his delightful and instructive conversation. Mr. Allen was one of Mr. Tracy's intimate friends and the nephew was soon taken to the Tracy house.

The gentlemen who made the firm of Rogers & Bowen were both notable men. Henry W.

Rogers was a large man with a somewhat loud but hearty manner. He had at command a great store of anecdote, and without being witty he easily said smart things, and still more easily bitter ones. Mr. Rogers was the advocate of the firm, and was a strong jury lawyer.

Denis Bowen was a very different person. He was quiet and unobtrusive, never went into court, nor ever sought publicity. He was a master of detail, an excellent business lawyer, with a calm dispassionate judgment to which his clients trusted implicitly. Beneath a somewhat cold manner was hidden a most gentle disposition, and Denis Bowen was not only greatly respected, but greatly loved by those among whom he lived.

At that time upon the bench of the Superior Court were Isaac A. Verplanck, Joseph G. Masten and George W. Clinton. The latter of these is, happily, still living, and I will, therefore, not speak of him. Judge Verplanck had a vigorous and thoroughly unpartial mind, and a huge unwieldy body. No one could ever find how much he weighed. He once made a journey to the plains in the stage-coach days, with Mr. Fargo and a party of gentlemen. It was arranged that the coach should be driven on to the scales at the next station and weighed, passengers and all, and then Verplanck's weight was to be got by deducting the weight of the coach and the other passengers. But no sooner did the driver pull up than the

Judge, who was as quick of mind as slow of body, saw what his friends were at, and jumped from the coach before its weight could be taken. Judge Verplanck was a good lawyer and an excellent judge. As a *nisi prius* judge he could not be excelled. His dislike of work made him impatient of delay, and eager to get through. Business before him was done rapidly. But it was in criminal cases that his generous heart showed itself. There was little danger that injustice would be done in his court to any criminal, however wretched, friendless, or guilty. Once he sent for a young lawyer and asked him to defend a man charged with murder. The youthful advocate pleaded his inexperience and dread of the responsibility. "Have no fear," said the Judge; "I will see to it that your client does not suffer." In private Judge Verplanck was the pleasantest of companions. He was fond of food, of wine and good company. There was no bitterness in his temper, but always a genial sunshine which made him welcome everywhere.

Joseph G. Mastin was by far the most learned lawyer in Buffalo. Those who knew him and others well enough to judge, thought there was no better lawyer anywhere. Like Verplanck, he had a great social charm, and was a prominent figure in a society full of able and interesting men.

After the death of Mr. Haven, which took place

in 1861, John Garison came to be the leader of the Buffalo bar. He had a clear and vigorous intellect and untiring industry. He had been carefully educated and thoroughly trained for his profession. No one could equal him in the care with which his causes were prepared, nor in the clearness with which, brushing aside all extraneous matter, he presented the essential points of his argument. He had no eloquence, but his lucidity and conciseness, and his instinct for the strong points of a case, made him a very successful advocate. He served with distinction in Congress and in the State Senate, and his sudden death, in 1874, brought to a close a career which was full of promise.

The principal person in Buffalo society at that time was Dr. Walter Cary, a gentleman widely known in this country and in Europe. The doctor had retired from his profession by reason of delicate health. A large estate and a ready disposition to new enterprises, gave him abundant occupation. Travel and society were his chief pleasures, and the influence of his example did much to give to Buffalo its reputation for hospitality.

Albert Haller Tracy was the oldest son of Albert H. Tracy, mentioned above. He and Grover Cleveland were about the same age. After his father's death, by which event he came into a large fortune, Tracy retired from the pro-

fession in which he might easily have won distinction. He had a mind remarkable for judgment and moderation. His knowledge of men and affairs was extensive, his reading considerable, and his memory most retentive.

I have mentioned the most prominent men in the city in which Grover Cleveland had made his home, where his character was to be formed, his career begun, and where he was to find an entrance, if he ever did, into the path which should lead him to fame and greatness. I have, however, spoken only of the dead. There are many living persons who should be mentioned, if it were intended to make a complete description of the associations in which Cleveland found himself; but I am not permitted to speak of the living with the freedom which would be necessary.

It will thus be seen that before he was twenty years old, Cleveland had begun the study of his profession under most favorable circumstances. He was in the family of an uncle who lived comfortably and well. He was thrown into association with men of talent and distinction. He was in the employ of a firm of able and successful lawyers, who were entrusted with very important affairs.

Thenceforth there was no element of hardship in Cleveland's life. He probably never knew what want was. He had all that it was possible to have. He had opportunity as full and com-

plete as if he had been born to wealth. Indeed, he had, in the necessity for exertion, a stimulant and a training which wealth could not have given him. The transplanted tree had found a congenial soil.

Grover Cleveland remained with Rogers & Bowen, as student and clerk, until 1863. At the outbreak of the war, the question had come to him as to the duty he owed his country. While teaching in New York, and while studying in Buffalo, he had always sent whatever money he could spare to his mother. He was then earning enough to make his contributions of importance to the family. It was therefore decided that the two younger brothers should go to the army, and that the bread winner should stay and work for the support of his mother and sisters.

CHAPTER II.

PROFESSIONAL LIFE.

GROVER CLEVELAND had been admitted to the bar in 1859, and in January, 1863, he was appointed Assistant District Attorney for the County of Erie. This position brought young Cleveland into court, and accustomed him to the trial of causes. At that time the District Attorney had but one assistant, and upon him fell a large share of the work of the office. His industry and evenness of temper fitted him, peculiarly, for his duties, and he soon held a more important relation to the public business than it had been usual for an Assistant District Attorney to have. This was, perhaps, due, in part, to the fact that Mr. Torrance, the District Attorney, did not live in the city, but in a village twenty-five miles distant. He therefore naturally left much to the capable and industrious assistant, who was constantly at hand. The three years in the District Attorney's office were of great value to Cleveland. They gave him confidence in himself, accustomed him to the trial of causes and to addressing juries; enabled him to make a wide acquaintance among the people in the country

towns, as well as in the city, and attracted to him the attention of clients and the bar.

The Assistant District Attorneyship also brought him into politics. From the time of his acceptance of that office, he was known as a Democratic politician. Mr. Dean Richmond, a man of singular ability and force of character, was then the principal Democrat in Western New York, and governed local affairs with a firm hand. At the expiration of Mr. Torrance's term, Cleveland received the Democratic nomination for District Attorney. His nomination to so important an office, when he was only twenty-nine years old, is the strongest evidence that can be given of the standing he had obtained in the community and in his profession. His opponent was Lyman K. Bass, a young Republican lawyer, afterwards a member of Congress, and who has been prevented by ill-health from completely fulfilling the promise of his youth. After a heated canvass, Cleveland was beaten, a result not to be wondered at, for the county then usually went Republican. The writer of this sketch well remembers meeting Cleveland the day after the election, and recalls the perfect coolness and good-humor with which he took his defeat.

He at once set about the general practice of his profession, and soon formed a law-partnership with the late Isaac V. Vanderpool. In 1867, the writer having been appointed by President John-

son, United States Attorney for the Northern District of New York, offered Cleveland an appointment as Assistant District Attorney. This offer he declined, for the reason that the duties of the office would require frequent absence from the city, and he preferred to attend to his rapidly-growing clientage. He soon after became associated with the late A. P. Lanning and Oscar Fulsom, a young companion of Cleveland, who had taken the Assistant Attorneyship which the former had declined. The name of the new firm was Lanning, Cleveland & Fulsom.

The writer remembers that one day, early in the autumn of 1870, Cleveland came into his office, and said he wanted his opinion upon a matter personal to himself. He said that his political friends had offered him the nomination for sheriff of the county. "Now," said he, "I know that it is not usual for lawyers to be sheriffs. I do not remember of any lawyer being a sheriff. But, there are some reasons why I should consider the matter carefully. I have been compelled to earn my living since I was seventeen. I have never had time for reading, nor for thorough professional study. The sheriff's office would take me out of practice, but it would keep me about the courts, and in professional relations. It would give me considerable leisure, which I could devote to self-improvement. Besides, it would enable me to save a modest competency, and give me

the pecuniary independence which otherwise I may never have. I have come for your advice. What would you do in my place?" I told him that if I were in his place I would accept the nomination. He received the same advice from other friends. He took the nomination and was elected. Naturally, some of the duties of the sheriff's office were grievously distasteful to him, but he performed them with that strong sense of duty which has always characterized him.

He used the opportunities of the position as he had said he would. He made a considerable saving, and he gave his leisure time to professional and other studies. As soon as he returned to the bar the effect was noticeable. He was a stronger and a broader man than he had been before, and he at once took a higher place than he had ever held.

At the close of his term as sheriff, he formed a partnership with his old antagonist, Lyman K. Bass, and Wilson S. Bissell. Failing health compelled Mr. Bass to remove to Colorado, and afterwards Mr. George J. Sicard entered the firm, which was known as Cleveland, Bissell & Sicard. From this time, 1874, until his election as Mayor, Cleveland practiced his profession with constantly increasing success. He came to have great skill in trying causes, and his arguments to the court in banc were noticeable for lucidity and thoroughness. Many important matters were entrusted to

him, and before he again took office he was beginning to receive large fees. There can be no doubt that, had he remained at the bar, he would have won as great a success as the theatre in which he acted would permit.

But during these years of professional labor, Cleveland was not indifferent to politics. Indeed, he was all the time a counsellor of his party. After the death of Dean Richmond, in 1866, Joseph Warren, the editor of the *Courier*, became the head of the Democratic organization in Buffalo. He was a native of Vermont, who had, when a very young man, gone to Albany, and from there to Buffalo. He found employment in the editorial office of the *Courier*, while the late William A. Seaver was its proprietor and editor. Upon the retirement of Mr. Seaver, he succeeded to the control of the paper, and was one of its principal owners. Mr. Warren directed party affairs with great judgment and self-control. He never aspired to office himself, was very appreciative of the talents of others, and always ready to aid in advancing the fortunes of his friends. He was, besides, a promoter of all the generous enterprises which promised to add to the prosperity of the city. All the public institutions were aided by his wise counsel and unselfish labors. Mr. Warren was a warm friend of Cleveland's, and was one of the first to recognise his talents and predict his success. He died in 1876, and thenceforward

Cleveland was drawn into more responsible political relations. He was not willing to take the local leadership, which he might easily have had, for he could not give to it the necessary time and attention. But he served on party committees, and there was little done in party matters in Buffalo as to which his advice was not taken. When he went to Albany, many thought him ignorant of political methods. But they were greatly mistaken. Few men know practical politics better than he does.

During all these years he had been a Democrat of Democrats. Through good report and evil report, he had stood with his party. Neither slavery nor the war had, for an instant, diminished his allegiance or his zeal.

During the early period of Cleveland's Buffalo life the city had begun a new career. Its wealth had greatly increased, and a number of young men with more education than their elders had become active in affairs. A desire for a higher civilization began to show itself. The Young Men's Association, which maintained a small library and a course of public lectures in the winter, had long been the principal, and it may be said the only literary society. But it had languished upon a meagre income. During this time a movement was set afoot to secure an endowment for it. Through the exertion of several gentlemen, among whom the late S. V. R. Wat-

son was most prominent, a fund of between eighty and ninety thousand dollars was raised by subscription and the sale of life-memberships. A valuable property was purchased and the association provided with an abundant income. During this period the Buffalo Historical Society, of which Mr. Fillmore was the first president, was formed, and also the Buffalo Academy of Fine Arts. Both of these institutions excited the interest of the more liberal citizens. It doubtless seemed to many, an ambitious undertaking to establish an Academy of Fine Arts in a place so given over to business as Buffalo. Once, in those early days, Ralph Waldo Emerson went through the gallery, which was then largely made up of pictures on sale contributed by the artists of New York and Boston, but which also contained a number of works, the property of the academy, that were worthy of attention. Said the philosopher: "This has begun well and will come to something in the course of the ages." Indeed those who began the work knew as well as any one, how little could be done during their life-time, but they thought a beginning should be made. To this period, also, belongs the Society of Natural History, which owes its success chiefly to the scientific zeal of George W. Clinton.

Any traveler who, to-day, shall visit the institutions I have mentioned, and thoroughly examine their collections, will be surprised to find how

much has been accomplished in twenty-five years. He will see that Buffalo has become the centre of literary, artistic and scientific activities, and that forces have been set at work which are sure to strengthen with time, and to greatly influence the character of the place and the lives of its people.

Grover Cleveland was hardly old enough to take part in the beginning of these things. But he has done his share of work in building them up to their present prosperous state.

In 1872, Cleveland lost his younger brothers, who had represented the family in the army during the Civil War. They were drowned at sea in the burning of the Steamship Missouri near the Island of Abaco, October 22d, of that year. It is said that they exhibited unusual coolness and courage; that they stood by the boats when they were lowered and helped the passengers into them, doing the work the frightened officers should have done. But when the boats were lowered there was no room for them and they went down with the ship

CHAPTER III.

THE MAYORALTY.

FOUR years ago Grover Cleveland was, as has been seen, living quietly in Buffalo and practicing law. Neither he nor any one foresaw the career which was before him, and upon which he was soon to enter. This may be said without disparagement, for if any intelligent resident of Buffalo had been asked to name a citizen who was by nature fit to be Governor and President, he would have been more likely to mention Cleveland than any other man in the place.

The defeat of 1880 had not seriously impaired Democratic strength in Buffalo, and when the election of 1881 drew near, there was a strong feeling that a proper person could be elected to the Mayoralty if the Democrats should nominate him. City affairs were in an unsatisfactory state, and there was a general feeling in favor of municipal reform. The party leaders urged Cleveland to take the nomination. At first he refused, but it was pressed upon him with such urgency, and with so strong an appeal to his sense of duty, that he at last consented. His candidacy led to a spirited canvass, and to his election by a majority

of 3500, the largest ever known in the history of the city.

He took office as Mayor on the 1st day of January, 1882. He at once called to his side, as his secretary, Mr. Harmon S. Cutting, a devoted friend, and a lawyer of excellent standing and great experience, who was unrivalled for his knowledge of municipal law. Mr. Cleveland entered upon his office with a strong feeling that the affairs of the municipality should, so far as possible, be kept apart from party politics. He could not see why the paving, lighting and cleaning of streets, should depend upon the exigencies of parties which had been formed upon lines of state or national policy. His first resolve was to do what he thought the interests of the city required, without reference to the effect his action would have upon either the Democratic or the Republican party. In his speech accepting the nomination for Mayor, he said: "There is, or there should be, no reason why the affairs of our city should not be managed with the same care and the same economy as private interests; and when we consider that public officials are the trustees of the people and hold their places and exercise their powers for the benefit of the people, there should be no higher inducement to a faithful and honest discharge of public duty." In his inaugural message, he used the following language:

"We hold the money of the people in our

hands, to be used for their purposes and to further their interests as members of the municipality, and it is quite apparent that, when any part of the funds which the taxpayers have thus intrusted us are diverted to other purposes, or when, by design or neglect, we allow a greater sum to be applied to any municipal purpose than is necessary, we have, to that extent, violated our duty. There surely is no difference in his duties and obligations, whether a person is intrusted with the money of one man or many."

These two declarations laid down the rule by which he meant to be guided. A trust had been placed in his hands, and as a trust he intended to administer his office. The public moneys were to be dealt with as private moneys are dealt with, by a competent and honest trustee. This rule he at once rigidly plied to municipal affairs. He applied it, in a striking manner, to a resolution which was passed by the city council appropriating five hundred dollars to defray the expenses attending a proper observance of Decoration Day. It was proposed, that this sum of money should be paid out of what was known as the Fourth of July fund, and therefore the resolution was obnoxious to a provision in the charter of the city, which made it a misdemeanor to appropriate money raised for one purpose to any other object. Upon this ground he refused to approve the resolution. But he also placed his refusal upon broader

grounds. In his veto message, among other things, he said:

"I deem the object of this appropriation a most worthy one. The efforts of our veteran soldiers to keep alive the memory of their fallen comrades certainly deserves the aid and encouragement of their fellow-citizens. We should all, I think, feel it a duty and a privilege to contribute to the funds necessary to carry out such a purpose. And I should be much disappointed if an appeal to our citizens for voluntary subscriptions for this patriotic object should be in vain.

"But the money so contributed should be a free gift of the citizens and taxpayers, and should not be extorted from them by taxation. This is so, because the purpose for which this money is asked does not involve their protection or interest as members of the community, and it may or may not be approved by them.

"The people are forced to pay taxes into the city treasury only upon the theory that such money shall be expended for public purposes, or purposes in which they all have a direct and practical interest.

"The logic of this position leads directly to the conclusion that, if the people are forced to pay their money into the public fund and it is spent by their servants and agents for purposes in which the people as taxpayers have no interest, the exaction of such taxes from them is oppressive and unjust.

"I cannot rid myself of the idea that this city government, in its relation to the taxpayers, is a business establishment, and that it is put in our hands to be conducted on business principles.

"This theory does not admit of our donating the public funds in the manner contemplated by the action of your honorable body.

"I deem it my duty, therefore, to return both of the resolutions herein referred to without my approval."

This act attracted the attention of the whole community. The leading newspapers, without distinction of party, gave it their approval. But in order that the object for which the money had been voted should be accomplished, a subscription was at once set afoot, which the Mayor headed by a liberal contribution. He soon had an opportunity to apply his principles to a more important matter. The City Council had awarded the contract for cleaning the streets for five years for the sum of four hundred and twenty-two thousand, five hundred dollars. Another party had offered to do the work for one hundred thousand dollars less, and the person to whom the contract had been given had himself, a few weeks before, proposed to perform the same service for fifty thousand less. This scandalous transaction was dealt with by the Mayor with a commendable directness and frankness; he returned the resolution with a message, which contained the following language:

"This is a time for plain speech, and my objection to the action of your honorable body now under consideration shall be plainly stated. I withhold my assent from the same, because I regard it as the culmination of a most barefaced, impudent and shameless scheme to betray the interests of the people, and to worse than squander the public money.

"I will not be misunderstood in this matter. There are those whose votes were given for this resolution whom I cannot and will not suspect of a willful neglect of the interests they are sworn to protect; but it has been fully demonstrated that there are influences, both in and about your honorable body, which it behooves every honest man to watch and avoid with the greatest care.

"When cool judgment rules the hour, the people will, I hope and believe, have no reason to complain of the action of your honorable body. But clumsy appeals to prejudice or passion, insinuations, with a kind of low, cheap cunning, as to the motives and purposes of others, and the mock heroism of brazen effrontery which openly declares that a wholesome public sentiment is to be set at naught, sometimes deceives and leads honest men to aid in the consummation of schemes, which, if exposed, they would look upon with abhorrence.

"If the scandal in connection with this street cleaning contract, which has so aroused our citizens, shall cause them to select and watch with

more care those to whom they intrust their interests, and if it serves to make all of us who are charged with official duties more careful in their performance, it will not be an unmitigated evil.

"We are fast gaining positions in the grades of public stewardship. There is no middle ground. Those who are not for the people, either in or out of your honorable body, are against them, and should be treated accordingly."

This bold and honorable act attracted wide attention, and laid the foundation of a reputation which soon extended throughout the State.

Mr. Cleveland continued to apply to the affairs of Buffalo the same inflexible rule of administering his office as though it were a trust. There can be no doubt that the result was a success greater than has ever been accomplished upon so narrow a political field as a single municipality. At home, the favor which he obtained was quite universal. All party differences disappeared before a public officer who performed his duties with so complete a reference to the general welfare.

During the short term of his mayoralty there were several occasions which compelled him to speak upon important topics. But whatever subject he dealt with was presented in the light of the principle he had from the first declared should guide his conduct. In speaking at the semi-centennial celebration of the foundation of the city, July 3d, 1882, he said:

"We boast of our citizenship to-night. *But this citizenship brings with it duties not unlike those we owe our neighbor and our God.* There is no better time than this for self-examination. He who deems himself too pure and holy to take part in the affairs of his city, will meet the fact that better men than he have thought it their duty to do so. He who cannot spare a moment in his greed and selfishness to devote to public concerns, will, perhaps, find a well-grounded fear that he may become the prey of public plunderers; and he who indolently cares not who administers the government of his city, will find that he is living falsely, and in the neglect of his highest duty."

When laying the corner-stone of the Young Men's Christian Association building, on the 7th of September, 1882, he used the following language:

"We all hope and expect that our city has entered upon a course of unprecedented prosperity and growth. But to my mind not all the signs about us point more surely to real greatness than the event which we here celebrate. *Good and pure government lies at the foundation of the wealth and progress of every community.* As the chief executive of this proud city, I congratulate all my fellow-citizens that to-day we lay the foundation stone of an edifice which shall be a beautiful ornament, and, what is more important, shall enclose within its walls such earnest Christian

endeavors as must make easier all our efforts to administer safely and honestly a good municipal government."

These utterances disclose the high moral purpose in which his whole nature seemed to be absorbed, and which he was, in a measure, compelled to profess upon every occasion when he was required to address the people. Perhaps there was no occasion on which he made so clear a revelation of himself and his character as by the address which he delivered on the 9th of April, 1882, when taking the chair at a mass meeting to protest against the treatment of American citizens imprisoned abroad. This short speech is worthy of the careful attention of all those who wish to understand his mind and character:

"FELLOW CITIZENS.—This is the formal mode of address on occasions of this kind, but I think we seldom realize fully its meaning or how valuable a thing it is to be a citizen.

"From the earliest civilization to be a citizen has been to be a free man, endowed with certain privileges and advantages, and entitled to the full protection of the State. The defense and protection of personal rights of its citizens has always been the paramount and most important duty of a free, enlightened government.

"And perhaps no government has this sacred trust more in its keeping than this—the best and freest of them all; for here the people who are to

be protected are the source of those powers which they delegate upon the express compact that the citizen shall be protected. For this purpose we chose those who, for the time being, shall manage the machinery which we have set up for our defense and safety.

"And this protection adheres to us in all lands and places as an incident of citizenship. Let but the weight of a sacrilegious hand be put upon this sacred thing, and a great strong government springs to its feet to avenge the wrong. Thus it is that the native born American citizen enjoys his birthright. But when, in the westward march of empire, this nation was founded and took root, we beckoned to the Old World, and invited hither its immigration, and provided a mode by which those who sought a home among us might become our fellow citizens. They came by thousands and hundreds of thousands; they came and

> Hewed the dark old woods away,
> And gave the virgin fields to day;

they came with strong sinews and brawny arms to aid in the growth and progress of a new country; they came, and upon our altars laid their fealty and submission; they came to our temples of justice, and under the solemnity of an oath renounced all allegiance to every other State, potentate and sovereignty, and surrendered to us all the duty pertaining to such allegiance. We

have accepted their fealty, and invited them to surrender the protection of their native land.

"And what should be given them in return? Manifestly, good faith and every dictate of honor demand that we give them the same liberty and protection here and elsewhere which we vouchsafe to our native-born citizens. And that this has been accorded to them is the crowning glory of American institutions.

"It needed not the statute, which is now the law of the land, declaring that all 'naturalized citizens while in foreign lands are entitled to and shall receive from this government the same protection of person and property which is accorded to native-born citizens,' to voice the policy of our nation.

"In all lands where the semblance of liberty is preserved, the right of a person arrested to a speedy accusation and trial is, or ought to be, a fundamental law, as it is a rule of civilization.

"At any rate, we hold it to be so, and this is one of the rights which we undertake to guarantee to any native-born or naturalized citizen of ours, whether he be imprisoned by order of the Czar of Russia or under the pretext of a law administered for the benefit of the landed aristocracy of England.

"We do not claim to make laws for other countries, but we do insist that whatever those laws may be they shall, in the interests of human

freedom and the rights of mankind, so far as they involve the liberty of our citizens, be speedily administered. We have a right to say, and do say, that mere suspicion without examination or trial, is not sufficient to justify the long imprisonment of a citizen of America. Other nations may permit their citizens to be thus imprisoned. Ours will not. And this in effect has been solemnly declared by statute.

"We have met here to-night to consider this subject and to inquire into the cause and the reasons and the justice of the imprisonment of certain of our fellow-citizens now held in British prisons without the semblance of a trial or legal examination. Our law declares that the government shall act in such cases. But the people are the creators of the government.

"The undaunted apostle of the Christian religion imprisoned and persecuted, appealing centuries ago to the Roman law and the rights of Roman citizenship, boldly demanded: "Is it lawful for you to scourge a man that is a Roman and uncondemned?"

"So, too, might we ask, appealing to the law of our land and the laws of civilization: 'Is it lawful that these our fellows be imprisoned who are American citizens and uncondemned?'

"I deem it an honor to be called upon to preside at such a meeting, and I thank you for it. What is your further pleasure?"

CHAPTER IV.

CANVASS FOR GOVERNOR.

EARLY in the summer of 1882 Mr. Cleveland's friends began to consider the propriety of bringing him forward as a candidate for Governor. The first public announcement of this intention was made in the columns of *The Daily News*, a Republican paper, which had become a strong supporter of Mayor Cleveland. The editor sent letters to many prominent people in the State, asking their opinion as to Mr. Cleveland's candidacy. The responses were remarkably favorable, and showed that the Mayor's course had attracted attention in all parts of the State. The public opinion of Buffalo responded readily to the appeals which were being made by the *The News*. No citizen of Buffalo had ever been Governor. Mr. Fillmore had been a candidate upon the Whig ticket in 1844, but was defeated by Silas Wright. Since that time no Buffalonian had ever received even a nomination for the office. Buffalo men had long felt that they were overlooked. Indeed, not only the city, but the whole western region, known as the Eighth Judicial District, had reason to think that it had not received its fair share of

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party honors. With the exception of Governor Fenton, no Governor or United States Senator had ever been chosen from all the country west of the Genesee river. It was easy to awaken the pride of a people who had so long been neglected. The movement in favor of Cleveland rapidly spread through all the western counties. After the Republican Convention had nominated Judge Folger, it took the character of a non-party movement. It was soon difficult to determine who were most in favor of Cleveland, the Democrats who brought him forward, or the Republicans who came to his support. The popular impulses were quickened by the general confidence in his character, judgment and integrity. Many thought that it would be well to send to Albany a man who had shown himself so trustworthy at home. When the Democratic Convention met in Syracuse, all the delegates from the western counties came there, ardent supporters of Cleveland. They were accompanied by a large body of citizens, who advocated their favorite with an energy such as was shown in behalf of no one else.

Up to this time the Cleveland movement had excited only a languid interest at the East. It was not believed, by the party managers, that a new man, living at the western end of the State, could become a formidable competitor for the nomination. The Chairman of the State Committee had received the suggestion of Mr. Cleveland's

candidacy with indifference and incredulity. But the political situation was singularly favorable to a man who lived away from the scene of party contentions, and who was unconnected with the factions into which the Democrats of New York and Brooklyn were divided. In New York these divisions were so serious as to make it doubtful whether the party could be united. In 1878 the opponents of the regular organization had made an open alliance with the Republicans, and a coalition ticket, made up partly of Democrats and partly of Republicans, had been elected. It had been usual for the Governor to stand aloof from municipal factions, but in 1878, the Governor, Mr. Robinson, openly sided with the coalition, and used all of his power to defeat the party nominees. In consequence of this, Tammany Hall determined not to support Governor Robinson, if he were nominated for election, and openly declared that intention before the meeting of the Convention. This avowal was artfully used by the friends of Governor Robinson. It was represented to the County Democracy as a threat, and they were urged not to submit to Tammany dictation. The Republican journals, eager to promote Democratic dissensions, enforced this view, and their columns were filled with appeals to the County Democrats to stand firm; and with denunciations of Mr. Kelly and his followers, prejudice and passion were easily excited. The Democratic Convention of

1879 met under the stress of a feeling so strong as to make deliberation impossible. Tammany was listened to, indeed, but her advocates addressed minds already resolved. Their remonstrances were disregarded, and Governor Robinson was re-nominated. The Tammany representatives at once left the Convention, and meeting the same evening with some sympathizers from other counties, nominated John Kelly, of New York, as their candidate for Governor. A contest then took place without parallel in the history of the State. Mr. Kelly's supporters had no organization anywhere except in the City of New York, no means of distributing tickets or securing attendance at the polls. Notwithstanding the lack of organization, Mr. Kelly received votes in every County in the State, and when the returns were canvassed, it was found that seventy thousand Democrats, about one in seven of the Democratic voters, had thrown their ballots for a candidate who, it was certain, could not be elected.

This result made a decided change in the political situation. It was impossible to ignore a body of men whose friends were found everywhere, and whose numbers were so great. Therefore, in 1880, the Tammany representatives were received at the State Convention. But in 1881 the delegates from Tammany Hall were refused admission to the Convention.

The organization again showed its usual

strength at the polls. A majority of the Democrats of the city supported its candidates, and it elected a sufficient number of Senators and Assemblymen to hold the balance of power in the Legislature.

The question, in 1882, was how to secure a union of Democrats in the city. It was clear that this could most easily be done by nominating some gentleman who had not been connected with State politics, but who had still acquired the necessary reputation and standing. Mr. Cleveland filled all these conditions. Indeed, he was more fortunate than either of his rivals. These were Roswell P. Flower and General Henry W. Slocum. Mr. Flower had acted, in 1877, as Chairman of the State Executive Committee, and in that capacity had managed the successful campaign of that year. He had served a term in Congress, but his reputation was chiefly that of a business man, and he had had, or was supposed to have had, such intimate relations with Tammany Hall, that the opponents of that organization looked upon him with suspicion. General Slocum was well fitted for the highest public employments. He was an excellent soldier. He had risen rapidly from the command of a regiment to a Major-Generalship, and had proved himself equal to all the emergencies of war. Any one who will study the battle of Glendale, the last great encounter of the war, will come to the conclusion that General Slocum might

have been entrusted with the most important military operations. But he was not generally appreciated at his true value. He has no faculty for public display, and a somewhat reserved disposition makes it difficult to know him well; and full knowledge of him is needed before one is likely to realize how strong and able a man he is. He was presented to the Convention by the Brooklyn delegation, but the relations between the Brooklyn leaders and the New York Democrats had been such as to make the latter reluctant to accept General Slocum.

The Tammany representatives were admitted to the Convention. On the third ballot their votes were thrown for Grover Cleveland, and secured his nomination.

As soon as the canvass opened it was seen that the choice had been a wise one. The movement for Cleveland rose in the West to a great height and ran swiftly through the State. Everywhere factional differences were swept away. In New York the adherents of Tammany and of the County and Irving Hall organizations united in support of the State ticket, and upon all other important nominations.

The Republican dissensions were increased in proportion to the growth of Democratic union and enthusiasm. Those Republicans who were disposed to vote against their party, were not deterred by fear of failure. The certainty of

Cleveland's election increased the temptation to aid his cause. Thousands were eager to add to the weight of the blow which was to fall on the Administration and its friends. The Republican candidate was an eminent citizen. He had shown high abilities in many public employments. His character was without a stain. He was Chief Justice of the State; and a long career on the bench had won for him that general esteem and public favor which successful judicial service almost always wins. But the more worthy the candidate the more impressive the lesson of his defeat. The murder of Garfield was to be avenged; party chains were to be broken; an accidental President was to be rebuked; the forgery of a telegram was to be punished, and Republican independence and manhood were to be asserted. The party difficulties were increased by the attitude of leading men.

Mr. Evarts, who had always been ready to give his elaborate eloquence to his party, was silent, and what was of far more importance, Roscoe Conkling also was silent. For more than a decade he had been the Republican advocate. His popular triumphs had been without precedent. In 1872, when Republican supremacy was threatened by a revolt, formidable on account of the number and the character of the rebels, he excited the Republicans who remained faithful to their party to unexampled efforts; efforts which created a Demo-

cratic supineness far more effective at the polls than the liberal Republican rebellion. In 1876 he had held his party together amid great discouragements, and upon a lost field. He had afterwards stood aloof from the intrigues by which Mr. Tilden had been deprived of the office to which he had been elected. In 1882, at a time when Republican defeat seemed to be certain—when Mr. Blaine had been beaten in Maine, and the October elections in Ohio and Indiana were in the greatest doubt—he reluctantly came forward to aid a candidate whom he distrusted and despised. He threw himself into the canvass with all his accustomed zeal. Those who have never heard Mr. Conkling addressing a great meeting can have but little idea of the vigor, brilliancy, and fiery energy of his picturesque eloquence. The effect of his speeches at the West, and in this State, cannot be over-stated. Never, in our politics, has any one made such a display of personal power. But in 1882 he was silent. It is not necessary to explain here the causes of his silence. Its effects were to be seen plainly enough by all who watched the events of that year.

The Republican disaffection grew more powerful every day. Party journals, like the Buffalo *Express*, openly advocated Cleveland's election. The Albany *Journal*, the New York *Times*, and the *Tribune* gave Judge Folger but a cold sup-

port. The friends of Garfield wished his defeat. The friends of Conkling wished his defeat; and to these discontents, added to Democratic enthusiasm, the friends of President Arthur could make but little resistance. The Republican treasury was without funds, and had the canvass lasted two weeks longer, the Republican cause would probably have been practically abandoned. The election resulted in a majority of one hundred and ninety-two thousand for Grover Cleveland; in the election of twenty-one Democratic members of the House of Representatives, and of a large majority in the State Assembly. The wisdom of those who had advised Mr. Cleveland's nomination was abundantly vindicated in this overwhelming victory.

In that hour of triumph there was one man whose mind was filled with anxiety. The Democratic candidate had, during the canvass, borne himself modestly, and had passed his time in the duties of his office. He heard the news of his success with joy, indeed, but it was a joy tempered by a sense of the undefined responsibilities which lay before him. This feeling showed itself in the speech which he made the night of his election at the Manhattan Club, and even more strongly in the address which he made upon taking the oath of office.

To many, the governorship thus attained suggested the presidency. If this high anticipation

came to him, as it did to others, it made no change in his demeanor. Deliberately and calmly he began to prepare for his departure, and performed the preliminary work in the composition of his message and the selection of his staff, as unostentatiously as if they were in the ordinary course of his daily employment.

"If chance will have one king, why, chance may crown me
Without my stir."

CHAPTER V.

THE GOVERNORSHIP.

VETO OF THE FIVE-CENT FARE BILL AND OTHER VETOES.

MR. CLEVELAND entered upon the Governorship under certain disadvantages. The accession of a new Governor always excites public expectation. This expectation was greatly increased and quickened by the incidents of the canvass, by the unprecedented majority he had received, and by the fact that he was new to public life. The people naturally looked with exceeding curiosity for the first of his public acts in order that they might determine what manner of man he was, and how fitted for the great place into which he had so suddenly come. His acquaintance with public men was limited, and his acquaintance with the affairs of the State was probably only such as would be obtained by a lawyer in the ordinary course of his profession. He had never been in the Legislature, nor in any way connected with the State administration. He set about his work with a strong sense of these deficiencies, but with a resolution to do whatever he found to be his duty, so

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clear and firm that those who knew him best had little doubt of his success.

The night before his inauguration he said to a friend that he looked forward to the three years to come with dread. Said he: "I shall never be happy again until I get back to Buffalo." His friend replied: "You will change your mind. I will come here at the beginning of the second year, and you will then tell me that you have found the Governorship a pleasant place, for you will find in it abundant opportunities to be useful." It was not necessary to wait a year for the change of opinion: for when the gentlemen met a few months afterwards, the Governor confessed that he had not found his office as unpleasant as he had expected. The situation was not an easy one. The labor questions, as they are called, had come to be pressing and important. The employment of convict labor in manufactures had given offence to many of the working men, and presented a subject of great delicacy and difficulty.

A strong feeling had grown up in respect to the corporations, and there was much discussion as to the taxation they should be made to bear. This feeling had brought about the passage of a law creating a railroad commission. The Legislature had not been willing to give to Governor Cornell the appointment of the Commissioners, and that duty had been thrown upon his successor. In addition to these more prominent subjects there

[illegible] important affairs, such as [illegible] government in a common-[illegible]

[illegible] first message to the Leg-[illegible] it may be said, a some-[illegible] At the outset he made an [illegible] elected Executive could [illegible] present a complete exhibit [illegible] He therefore confined himself [illegible] and of the various [illegible] as could be predi-[illegible] by State officials. [illegible] intended to wait for [illegible] to give the public [illegible]

[illegible] popular disappoint-[illegible] But it was not long [illegible] so clearly that it could [illegible] great force of char-[illegible] had come into the [illegible] use the veto power [illegible] Between the 26th of [illegible] be sent to the Leg-[illegible] These documents [illegible] In one, he refused [illegible] Montgomery to borrow [illegible] his consent to an [illegible] Elmira which was [illegible] of the city for in-[illegible] of the streets being

in an unsafe and dangerous condition. He refused his signature to a bill which would have relieved the library association of Fredonia from the payment of local taxes, and to one that authorized the County of Chautauqua to appropriate money for a soldiers' monument. He vetoed an act authorizing the village of Fayetteville, where he had lived during his boyhood, to borrow money for the purpose of purchasing a steam fire-engine, and also one authorizing the village of Mechanicsville to borrow money for the same purpose.

By these vetoes he showed that he was determined to adhere to the rule which had governed him while Mayor of Buffalo, and to deal with the public moneys on the principle that officials are the trustees of the people.

On the 2d of March, 1883, he did an act which has proved the most important one of his administration, and which has subjected him to severe criticism. This was the veto of a bill which reduced the fares on the elevated railroads in New York to five cents. This act was of such far-reaching consequence as to require full explanation and the consideration of the reasons and motives which controlled the Governor.

The question involved may be simply stated. It has been generally supposed that it was merely a question of a change by the Legislature in the law, by which railway fares were regulated, and to the suggestion commonly made that the act author-

izing a railway corporation to charge certain rates of fares was in the nature of a contract; the answer had been made that one Legislature could not so bind the action of a future Legislature as to create a contract which would be protected by the provision in the Constitution of the United States, prohibiting any State from impairing the obligation of a contract. But the question presented by the five-cent fare bill was not such a question at all. By an act of the Legislature, passed in April, 1868, it had been provided that the railway company and the city of New York might enter into an arrangement by which the company should undertake to pay into the city treasury five per cent. of its net earnings, and by which the company should be entitled to charge certain rates of fare which should not be changed without the mutual consent of the parties to the said agreement. This contract was subsequently ratified and confirmed by an act of the Legislature. It will be seen, therefore, that a contract *had been* made, pursuant to Legislative permission, and which had afterwards received Legislative ratification, as to which there was, to say the least, a serious question as to whether it was not protected by the clause in the Constitution of the United States above referred to. The position taken by the Governor as to this branch of the case was supported by several decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States and of the Courts of New York.

There were also other questions involved in the bill. There were high considerations of public policy, and public faith. It had been found extremely difficult to obtain the necessary capital to build the rapid transit roads in New York. There was no precedent upon which business men could base their calculations. For years all the rapid transit enterprises had languished. The great capitalists of the city refused to invest in them. Neither Vanderbilt nor the Astors, none of the great railway proprietors, none of the great real estate owners invested in them. The men who finally carried them through were mainly merchants, and others who were accustomed to hazardous speculations.

Chief among them was Cyrus W. Field, who had risked his whole estate in the scheme of laying the cable across the Atlantic; Mr. Tilden, who had made his fortune by speculation; and Commodore Garrison, one of the most daring and venturesome of the business men of his time.

The final success of the enterprise was not assured. It had not yet been ascertained how long the expensive structures would last. Disputes had arisen with the city about taxation, involving several millions. The question whether the company was liable to the owners of adjoining property for damages was still undecided, and was pending in the courts. Under circumstances like these, it might well be doubted whether

it was politic for the State to impair the company's revenues. If the fares could be reduced to five cents, they might be reduced to three cents. But the faith of the State was also seriously involved. The fares of the New York Central had been fixed at two cents a mile by an act passed thirty years before. The fares of the other railway corporations were also limited by law. It was not to be doubted that the capital by which these great works had been constructed was furnished upon the belief that the legalized rates of fare would be continued, and certainly that no change would be made except in accordance with the provisions of the statute, which declared that the rates of fare should not be reduced unless the comptroller and the state engineer should ascertain that the corporation was earning a profit greater than ten per cent. upon the cost of construction. For a commercial community like New York to disregard the implied obligation which had arisen between the State and its citizens, and between the State and citizens of other states and countries, would have been, in the judgment of many thoughtful men, a dangerous and pernicious act. This latter view was taken by Governor Cleveland, in the following extract from his veto message:

"But we have especially in our keeping the honor and good faith of a great State, and we should see to it that no suspicion attaches, through

any act of ours, to the fair fame of the Commonwealth. The State should not only be strictly just, but scrupulously fair, and in its relations to the citizen every legal and moral obligation should be recognized. This can only be done by legislating without vindictiveness or prejudice, and with a firm determination to deal justly and fairly with those from whom we exact obedience."

Mr. Edson, the Mayor of the city had earnestly advised the Governor not to sign the bill, and Mr. Erastus Brooks, a member of the Assembly, and a citizen of great consideration and distinction, warmly approved the veto. The Rev. Dr. Anderson, President of Rochester University, and a political opponent of Governor Cleveland, wrote to him in warm terms of approval. In a letter which he addressed to Governor Cleveland, on the 4th of March, 1883, he said:

"I cannot, in justice to my convictions, refrain from expressing my gratitude for your veto message, which I have just read. I have no personal interest in any of the great corporations which were directly or indirectly affected by the bill, from which you have so wisely withheld your approval. But the just and statesmanlike position taken in your message, seems to me a most fitting rebuke to the demagogism which is ready to trifle with those sacred rights of property guaranteed by our State and national constitutions. In these safeguards of property, the poor man has a more vital interest than the capitalist, for they make secure the poor man's savings, which constitute his only means of support.

"I have taken occasion to commend your message to the careful consideration of my students as an exhibition of the principles which should govern their actions should they be called to fill public station in their future lives. I trust you will pardon me for obtruding myself upon your attention. As a teacher of young men, I feel grateful to any public functionary who illustrates in his person the lessons which I am so anxious to impress upon their minds. Again I thank you for the courageous and worthy action which you have adopted to secure sound government for our great State."

Andrew D. White, the President of Cornell University, in writing to a friend, used the following language:

"I will say to you frankly, that I am coming to have a very great respect and admiration for our new Governor. His course on the Elevated Railroad bill first commended him to me. Personally, I should have been glad to have seen that company receive a slap. But the method of administering it seemed to me very insidious and even dangerous, and glad was I to see that the Governor rose above all the noise and clap-trap which was raised about the question, went to the fundamental point of the matter and vetoed the bill. I think his course at that time gained the respect of every thinking man in the State."

Whatever the public opinion was as to the points of law stated by the Governor in his veto message, or as to the wisdom of his action, no one doubted his sincerity, nor was there thenceforward any doubt whatever as to his firmness and courage.

There were many who had advised him to let the bill become a law without his signature, and to leave it to the courts to decide whether the law was constitutional or not. But it had never been customary for the Governors of New York to shirk their duties, and Governor Cleveland was not willing to set a bad example. He said in his message, "I am convinced, that in all cases the share which falls upon the Executive regarding the legislation of the State, should be in no manner evaded, but fairly met by the expression of his carefully guarded and unbiased judgment."

It may be doubted whether there were any, even among those who most loudly denounced his action, who did not have a higher opinion of him after the veto than before. By the owners of property throughout the whole State his conduct was received with approval.

Soon after the veto, the railroad commissioners were instructed to examine and report as to the cost of running the elevated railroad. Their report showed that a reduction to a five-cent fare would, at the number of passengers carried in 1882, so reduce the income of the companies as to prevent them from providing for the interest on their bonded debt. It also appeared that the rate of fare during what are known as commission hours, to wit, from half-past five to half-past eight in the morning, and from half-past four to half-past seven in the evening, was five cents; and that trains

were run at those rates upon the two principal roads, at intervals of forty-five seconds. It was manifest, therefore, that the laborers who go to their work before half-past eight in the morning, and who return before half-past seven in the evening, had no interest in the proposed reduction. Had it taken effect, it would have operated almost entirely in favor of the wealthier classes, who use the roads during the mid-day hours, and would have been a severe blow to the surface roads and all their employees.

On the 9th of April, 1883, the Governor sent to the Assembly another veto which attracted great attention. An Act had been passed amending the Charter of the City of Buffalo, the object of which was to reorganize the Fire Department of that City. Less than three years before the Fire Department had been placed under the control of three Commissioners, who were appointed by the Mayor. The proposed measure abolished the Commission and placed the department under the control of a Chief, who, with his assistants, was to be appointed by the Mayor. The resignation by Governor Cleveland of the mayoralty of Buffalo had, of course, produced a change in the personnel of the city government; and the plain object of the bill was to give the new Mayor control of an important department, and to place a considerable patronage in his hands. The Governor promptly vetoed the bill, and closed his message as follows:

"The purpose of the bill is too apparent to be mistaken. A tried, economical and efficient administration of an important department in a large city is to be destroyed upon partisan grounds, or to satisfy personal animosities, in order that the places and patronage attached thereto may be used for party advancement.

"I believe in an open and steady partisanship, which secures the legitimate advantages of party supremacy; but parties were made for the people, and I am unwilling, knowingly, to give my assent to measures purely partisan, which will sacrifice or endanger their interests."

This act caused great criticism among those who had promoted it; but it was generally approved in Buffalo and in other parts of the State.

Another very important veto of Governor Cleveland's during his first winter at Albany, was that of an act providing for the construction, maintenance and operation of Street Railways in cities, towns and villages.

Great pressure was brought to bear upon Governor Cleveland to approve this measure. The late amendment to the Constitution had prohibited the Legislature from passing special acts granting charters to Street Railway Companies, and required that a general law should be passed which should provide for the organization of such companies wherever, throughout the State, they might be needed. In some of the cities there was a great

necessity for additional street railway facilities, but it was particularly so in the city of New York, the growth of which was seriously retarded by the want of them. Under these circumstances it was difficult for the Governor to resist the arguments in favor of the bill which came from many quarters, and which were pressed upon him by influential friends. He, however, came to the conclusion that the act contained improper provisions, and was passed in the interests of a single locality, rather than those of the whole State. He said:

"In any event, if it is proposed to act under the Constitution, there should honestly and fairly be accorded to the people the protection which the Constitution intended.

"I think no one can read the peculiar provisions of this bill, without being convinced that its design is more to further private and corporate schemes, than to furnish the citizens of the State street railroad facilities, under the spirit and letter of the Constitution, and within the limits therein fixed for the benefit of the people."

Governor Cleveland's veto messages, during his first winter at Albany, together with the memorandum of objections accompanying the supply bill, make a book of more than one hundred pages. They furnish an interesting expression of his character and methods of thought. They are well-written, in a clear and simple style. They show how consistently he acted upon the rule he

had laid down. It was his Buffalo rule that public office is a *trust*, and that public moneys are to be dealt with as trust-funds are dealt with. As Governor he has held rigidly to the same principle, which all sound business men strongly endorse.

CHAPTER VI.

THE GOVERNORSHIP.

HIS APPOINTMENTS TO OFFICE—LABOR QUESTIONS—CAR CONDUCTOR'S BILL.

GOVERNOR CLEVELAND applied his favorite rule of conduct to the important appointments which he had to make soon after taking office. His selections were made upon an estimate which he had formed of the fitness of the person, and with less reference to party considerations. It is true that, in all cases where he could, he appointed Democrats, but he selected men more with reference to their ability to do their work satisfactorily, than to their party usefulness.

He appointed a gentleman who had long been the assistant in the Insurance Department to the headship of that department. He brought a builder from Binghampton, and made him Commissioner of the Capitol, and a business man in Buffalo was appointed Commissioner of Public Buildings. The Superintendent of Public Works whom he selected, although a strong and vigorous partisan, had had a long and responsible connection with the management of the canals. In making these appointments Governor Cleveland, of course, set

aside candidates who were strongly pressed by political leaders, and upon party grounds, but the result has well-justified his choice, and the general opinion in New York is, that the Governor's appointments have contributed to the efficiency of the public service.

His action as to one important office has had serious consequences. A former Legislature had passed an act providing for the abolishment of the Quarantine Commission in the City of New York, and permitting the appointment of one Commissioner. The Governor selected for the place a gentleman entirely qualified, but who was a resident of Brooklyn, while the duties of the office were to be performed in New York, where the operations of the Commission had always been carried on. The selection of a non-resident for so important an office produced a lively feeling of discontent among the Democrats of Tammany Hall. The Senators who represented that organization, were instructed to oppose Mr. Murtha's confirmation. This led to a breech between the Governor and influential party leaders, and may be said to have been the beginning of the opposition which he has encountered in his own party. The most important places which Governor Cleveland was called upon to fill had been created by an Act of the last Legislature, providing for a Railroad Commission. This Act had excited great interest throughout the State, and particularly in

the minds of those who had engaged in what were known as the "anti-monopoly" movements. The law provided that one of the three Commissioners should be nominated to him by certain business associations. It also required that another of the Commissioners should be a Republican, and that one of the Board should have had a practical experience in railroad management. These limitations seriously restricted the Governor's choice. The gentleman who was nominated by the business associations was not a practical railroad man. The Governor thought it desirable that there should be a lawyer in the board, and therefore, in selecting the two remaining Commissioners, he chose for one Mr. John D. Kernan, of Utica, a son of Hon. Francis Kernan, and a lawyer of excellent standing, and Mr. William E. Rogers, who was a graduate of West Point, had been an officer of engineers, and had been engaged in the construction and management of railroads, and who filled the requirement that one of the appointees should be a Republican. All the selections were good, and the Board has, during the short period of its service, done very important work, and has acquired a reputation second only to the long-established Massachusetts Commission.

Governor Cleveland, who was the son of a poor clergyman, and was compelled to earn his living from the time he was seventeen years old, has been charged with a want of sympathy with the laboring

classes. This charge shows a complete misunderstanding of his character. From the beginning of his career he has been associated with plain people, among whom he has lived: sharing their feelings, and sympathizing with their purposes. He is himself a man of simple life and plain manners. It may be doubted whether a public man can any where be found less liable to this charge. He is not, however, a demagogue, nor accustomed to make loud professions of his devotion either to the poor or to the rich.

The Convention which nominated him had been greatly influenced by the demands of the laboring men, and had adopted the following resolution as part of the party platform:

"*Twelfth.* We reaffirm the policy always maintained by the Democratic party that it is of the first importance that labor should be made free, healthful, and secure of just remuneration. That convict labor should not come into competition with the industry of law-abiding citizens. That the labor of children should be surrounded with such safeguards as their health, their rights of education and their future, as useful members of the community, demand. That work shops, whether large or small, should be under such sanitary control, as will insure the health and comfort of the employed, and will protect all against unwholesome labor and surroundings. That labor shall have the same rights as capital to combine for its own protection, and that all legislation which cramps industry, or which enables the powerful to oppress the weak, should be repealed; and, to promote

the interests of labor, we recommend the collection of statistics and information respecting the improvements, needs and abuses of the various branches of industry."

This declaration had been accepted by the candidate. Mr. Cleveland, in his letter accepting the gubernatorial nomination, used the following language:

"The platform of principles adopted by the Convention meets with my hearty approval. The doctrines therein enunciated are so distinctly and explicitly stated that their amplification seems scarcely necessitated. If elected to the office for which I have been nominated, I shall endeavor to impress them upon my administration and make them the policy of the State."

Further on, in the same letter, he says:

"The laboring classes constitute the main part of our population. They should be protected in their efforts to assert their rights when endangered by aggregated capital, and all statutes on this subject should recognize the case of the State for honest toil, and be framed with a view of improving the condition of the working man."

These pledges have been faithfully kept. The Governor signed all but one of the bills which were prepared by the direction of the labor organization. One of these was an act providing for the establishment of a Bureau of Labor Statistics. Another was what is known as the "Tenement House" bill, which prohibits the manufacture of

cigars in tenement houses. The third was an act prohibiting the manufacture of woolen hats in the State prisons, penitentiaries, and reformatories of the State.

The Convict Labor Bill did not reach him during the first session. The question involved in it was submitted to the voters of the State at the election of 1883, and the popular decision was against the continuance of convict labor. In 1884 the question was again presented to the Governor in what is known as the "Comstock Bill," a measure which, while it did away with the existing system, provided no means whatever for the employment of the convicts. It is clearly necessary as a matter of discipline, and, indeed, as a matter of mercy, that the convicts should be kept fully employed. The bill was, also, in several respects, defective, and the Governor sent for Mr. Thayer, the President of the State Trades Assembly, and suggested that the bill should be recalled, and its defects remedied. This was done, and the Governor signed the bill, although the most important of its defects still remained,—the failure to provide some employment for the convicts. The Legislature of last winter, which was Republican, did not pass any adequate measure upon this important subject, and the result is, that when the existing contracts expire, the convicts in the prisons and penitentiaries of the State will be without employment.

Another measure which received Governor Cleveland's approval, is known as the "Child Contract Bill," which makes it unlawful for the managers of Houses of Refuge, or other reformatory institutions, to contract or let out the labor of a child committed to their care.

An act was sent to him, applying only to King's and Queen's counties, interfering with the lien which a mechanic now has. The bill gave to all parties having claims, whether mechanics or not, a first lien, thus impairing the preference they have under existing laws. This act the Governor vetoed.

The official act of Governor Cleveland which has subjected him to the greatest criticism was his refusal to sign the bill known as the "Car Conductors and Drivers' Bill." The act is in the following terms:

"SECTION 1. On and after the passage of this act it shall be unlawful for any officer or agent of any railroad corporation in any of the cities of this State, whose cars are drawn by horses, TO EXACT from conductors or drivers employed by them more than twelve hours labor for a day's work, and such corporations shall, out of said twelve hour's labor, allow such conductors and drivers a reasonable time to obtain meals.

"SEC. 2. Any officer or agent of any such corporation who shall violate or otherwise evade the provisions of this act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, punishable by a fine not to exceed three hundred dollars, or

imprisonment not to exceed six months, or both fine and imprisonment for each offense.

"SEC. 3. This act shall take effect immediately."

It was passed at the very close of the session, and did not reach the Governor until after the final adjournment, so that there was no opportunity to return it for amendment. A careful consideration of the measure shows it to have been extremely defective. It makes it unlawful for any railroad corporation, in any of the cities of the State, to exact from conductors and drivers more than twelve hours labor for a day's work. It does not provide that twelve hours shall be a day's work, nor prevent a corporation and its employees from agreeing for longer hours of labor. The bill was so unskillfully drawn as plainly to be inoperative. The Governor, therefore, considering the matter simply as a lawyer, refused to sign an act which he knew would be useless.

One of his early acts was to sign a valuable measure making the wages or salaries owing to employees by any assignor, preferred claims upon the assignor's estate.

He also vetoed a bill which permitted savings banks and trust companies to invest their funds in such securities as might be approved by the superintendent of the Banking Department, the Governor, Comptroller, and the State Treasurer, or a majority of them. He said:

"But I am firmly of the opinion that these insti-

tutions are, as their name implies, a place of deposit for the savings of those among the poor and laboring people who see the propriety of putting aside a part of their earnings for future need, or as the beginning of an accumulation. Such depositors are not, and should not be, investors seeking, as a paramount purpose, an income by way of interest on their deposits. When they come to that, there are other instrumentalities which should be employed.

"Absolute safety of the principal deposited is what the patrons of savings banks should seek; and any governmental control over these institutions should, first of all, be directed to that end.

"I am not satisfied that this is done, when State officials, already charged with onerous duties, are called to decide upon the value of proposed securities, and when the safety of deposits is left to their determination, and the care of directors and trustees, often tempted to speculative ventures, beyond their power to resist."

Any one who will carefully examine his public acts will find that he has, as Governor, been most careful of the rights of labor and most watchful of the interests of the poor.

In order that the public may judge what impression Governor Cleveland's course has produced upon the minds of those most interested, a letter lately written by Walter N. Thayer, President of the State Trades Assembly, is here given:

"*To the Argus:*

"I have been informed that a statement has been published to the effect that while in Chicago at the recent National Democratic Convention I stated that I could pledge the vote of the workingmen, of this and other localities, to Governor Cleveland. I wish to state that no such expression ever fell from my lips, and that no interview with me was ever published in which I made such a statement. On the contrary, I stated that *no man* could pledge the vote of the labor element of New York State, or of any portion of it, *to any candidate*, nor did any man have sufficient influence to cause it to be cast against any candidate. I stated that if any man pretended to pledge the workingmen's vote to any candidate, he did so without any authority. I stated that I had no authority to speak for them on political questions, nor had any one else.

"I was asked what my *personal* preferences were, and I said that I preferred Governor Cleveland. When asked my reasons, I expressed them as follows: The workingmen's assembly of this State has, since I have been at the head of that organization, succeeded in passing through the Legislature the following bills: Abolishing the manufacture of hats in State prisons; creating a bureau of labor statistics; the tenement house cigar bill (*twice*); the abolition of convict contract labor; the lien law; and the conductors and drivers' bills—seven in all. Of these measures Governor Cleveland signed *five* and vetoed two, viz., the lien law, and the conductors and drivers' bill. As to the lien law, it is generally acknowledged now that he did us a kindness in vetoing that bill, because, through errors of our own in drafting the measure, the bill as passed would have been a positive injury to us. The conductors and drivers' bill, I think, he should have signed.

"So the record shows that we have sent to Governor Cleveland six perfect bills and he has signed *five* and vetoed *one*. On this record I am not prepared to condemn him. If the Governor does us five favors and commits but one error, I feel that he is entitled to my support. In addition to the labor measures prepared by our organization, Governor Cleveland has signed a bill introduced by Senator Fassett, which makes workingmen preferred creditors in case of assignment or failure of the firm or corporation by which they are employed. Recognizing the justice of the measure and its great benefits to the working class, I asked Governor Cleveland to sign it, and he did so without hesitation. So, to sum the matter up, he has approved of six bills favorable to our interests and disapproved of one. By his record on legitimate labor measures I judge him, and on the strength of that record I shall support him. I do not wish it understood that I am voicing the sentiments or preferences of any one but myself. I have no authority to speak for the workingmen on political subjects.

"Yours truly,

"WALTER N. THAYER.

"TROY, July 21, 1884."

CHAPTER VII.

THE GOVERNORSHIP.

CORPORATIONS.

He has also been charged with being biased in favor of corporations. He has never been connected with corporate management or interested in corporate properties. Even in his profession, his connection with them has been incidental and casual, nor has he ever been known as, what is called, a corporation lawyer.

In his second annual message to the Legislature, the Governor made most important recommendations with reference to the management of corporations. Criticisms upon corporate management are common enough, but practical remedies for the evils complained of are not often suggested. Perhaps the chief evil which our society suffers from these institutions, grows out of the fact that corporations have been and are the chief corrupters of our public life. They furnish a large part of the money which is used to corrupt our elections, and they furnish all the money which is used to corrupt our Legislatures. The creatures of the State have become its dangerous enemies, and it is not to be wondered at, that public opin-

ion with reference to them, assumes a threatening character. What remedy can be found for the evil? All the States have passed severe penal laws. Everywhere bribery is a crime. The State of New York has made it a felony for a person to give or to receive a bribe. But the laws are not executed. Such offenses are common, but there is not an instance in our later history of the successful prosecution and punishment of an offender. Political parties have denounced these corruptions. The press has inveighed against them and exposed them. The pulpit has warned the people against them. Public opinion has inflicted upon the offenders every penalty which it can command, and yet the evil has not been checked nor greatly diminished. It has grown to be a serious danger, not only to the regular administration of affairs, but to the very existence of our system of Government.

The problem still is how can this evil be checked. It is clear that the first step is to expose its methods. Corporate funds, like the moneys of the State, are in the nature of trust funds. In none of the great corporations do they belong exclusively to the directors or trustees who administer the corporate affairs. They belong to large bodies of citizens scattered throughout the community. A railway director, or the trustee of a bank, or an insurance company, acts in a fiduciary capacity, and not in a personal one.

It was thought that a great reform would be worked out, if the managers of corporations were compelled to expose their accounts, and to produce vouchers for every item of their expenditures. This plan suggested itself to Governor Cleveland, before he began the preparation of his second message. He determined therefore to recommend that the great railway and other moneyed corporations, should be compelled to report their expenditures to some department of the State Government. If they should be required to furnish detailed statements of all disbursements, clearly showing what use was made of the corporate funds, and in all cases presenting the proper vouchers, it is clear that it would be difficult to conceal the use of corporate moneys for corrupt purposes.

The following is an extract from his second annual message, dealing with this subject:

"It would, in my opinion, be a most valuable protection to the people if other large corporations were obliged to report to some department their transactions and financial condition.

"The State creates these corporations upon the theory that some proper thing of benefit can be better done by them than by private enterprise, and that the aggregation of the funds of many individuals may be thus profitably employed. They are launched upon the public with the seal of the State, in some sense, upon them. They

are permitted to represent the advantages they possess and the wealth sure to follow from admission to membership. In one hand is held a charter from the State, and in the other is proffered their stock.

"It is a fact, singular though well established, that people will pay their money for stock in a corporation engaged in enterprises in which they would refuse to invest if in private hands.

"It is a grave question whether the formation of these artificial bodies ought not to be checked or better regulated, and in some way supervised.

"At any rate, they should always be kept well in hand, and the funds of its citizens should be protected by the State which has invited their investment. While the stockholders are the owners of the corporate property, notoriously they are oftentimes completely in the power of the directors and managers, who acquire a majority of the stock and by this means perpetuate their control, using the corporate property and franchises for their benefit and profit, regardless of the interests and rights of the minority of stockholders. Immense salaries are paid to officers; transactions are consummated by which the directors make money, while the rank and file among the stockholders lose it; the honest investor waits for dividends and the directors grow rich. It is suspected, too, that large sums are spent under various disguises in efforts to influence legislation.

"It is not consistent to claim that the citizen must protect himself, by refusing to purchase stock. The law constantly recognizes the fact that people should be defended from false representations and from their own folly and cupidity. It punishes obtaining goods by false pretences, gambling and lotteries.

"It is a hollow mockery to direct the owner of a small amount of stock in one of these institutions to the courts. Under existing statutes, the law's delay, perplexity and uncertainty leads but to despair.

"The State should either refuse to allow these corporations to exist under its authority and patronage, or acknowledging their paternity and its responsibility, should provide a simple, easy way for its people, whose money is invested, and the public generally, to discover how the funds of these institutions are spent, and how their affairs are conducted. It should at the same time provide a way by which the squandering or misuse of corporate funds would be made good to the parties injured thereby.

"This might well be accomplished by requiring corporations to frequently file reports made out with the utmost detail, and which would not allow lobby expenses to be hidden under the pretext of legal services and counsel fees, accompanied by vouchers and sworn to by the officers making them, showing particularly the debts, liabilities,

expenditures and property of the corporation. Let this report be delivered to some appropriate department or officer, who shall audit and examine the same; provide that a false oath to such account shall be perjury, and make the directors liable to refund to the injured stockholders any expenditure which shall be determined improper by the auditing authority.

"Such requirements might not be favorable to stock speculation, but they would protect the innocent investors; they might make the management of corporations more troublesome, but this ought not to be considered when the protection of the people is the matter in hand. It would prevent corporate efforts to influence legislation; the honestly conducted and strong corporations would have nothing to fear; the badly managed and weak ought to be exposed."

It would be difficult to find in the record of any of our public men so well-considered a plan as that here presented, dealing with the glaring evils of legislative and official corruption.

If Governor Cleveland's suggestions should be acted upon, all corporate acts would become public acts, and a more effective remedy for pernicious and dangerous crimes would be found than by the enactment of any penal statutes, however severe.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE GOVERNORSHIP.

MUNICIPALITIES.

GOVERNOR CLEVELAND'S first political office was that of Mayor of Buffalo. The first political questions with which he had to deal were those connected with municipal government.

The municipalities in New York have long been in an unsatisfactory condition. In all of them the expenditures are large, taxation is high, and the administration wasteful and extravagant. The great sums of money raised for municipal purposes do not accomplish the proper results. The cities are generally unclean, badly paved and in most instances the public service is costly and inefficient. Many persons have come to think that a government by universal suffrage cannot be successfully applied to municipal affairs. Governor Cleveland, however, was not of this opinion. He thought that proper remedies for existing evils could be found, and economy and thoroughness introduced into the city governments as well as into that of the State.

His plan was to throw upon the people of the municipalities the responsibility of self-govern-

ment; therefore, he asked that they should be invested with full powers to deal with their own affairs, and that the legislature, after having granted such powers, should cease to interfere with the local administration. In his first message he said:

"They [municipal governments] should be so organized as to be simple in their details, and to cast upon the people affected thereby the full responsibility of their administration. The different departments should be in such accord as in their operation to lead toward the same results. Divided counsels and divided responsibility to the people, on the part of municipal officers, it is believed, give rise to much that is objectionable in the government of cities. If, to remedy this evil, the chief executive should be made answerable to the people for the proper conduct of the city's affairs, it is quite clear that his power in the selection of those who manage its different departments should be greatly enlarged."

And again he said:

"It is not only the right of the people to administer their local government, but it should be made their duty to do so. Any departure from this doctrine is an abandonment of the principles upon which our institutions are founded, and a concession of the infirmity and partial failure of the theory of a representative form of government.

"If the aid of the Legislature is invoked to

further projects which should be subject to local control and management, suspicion should be at once aroused, and the interference sought should be promptly and sternly refused.

"If local rule is in any instance bad, weak or inefficient, those who suffer from maladministration have the remedy within their own control. If, through their neglect or inattention, it falls into unworthy hands, or if bad methods and practices gain a place in its administration, it is neither harsh nor unjust to remit those who are responsible for those conditions to their self-invited fate, until their interest, if no better motive, prompts them to an earnest and active discharge of the duties of good citizenship."

The application of these principles to the affairs of the cities of the State is a task of great difficulty. Ever since the organization of the present political parties, there has been a wide difference in political opinion between the inhabitants of New York and Brooklyn and the other parts of the State. The cities have been overwhelmingly Democratic; the counties have been strongly Republican. During the long period of Republican domination the powers of the State government were constantly used to weaken the Democratic organizations in New York and Brooklyn To accomplish this, frequent changes were made in the charters of the cities. The object, generally, was to secure a share of the

local offices, and a part of what is called "party patronage."

It is impossible to point out in detail the devices which were resorted to, to accomplish these ends, but the general result has been clear enough. They are without doubt the sources of many municipal evils and the chief cause of the failure of municipal governments. They have destroyed the responsibility of officials. They have given opportunities for combination between the corrupt men of both parties. They have accustomed the people to misgovernment, and made them suspicious as to the sincerity of those who proposed a reform. When the Democrats had become strong enough to get a share in the government of the State, they yet failed to obtain control of the Legislature.

Jealousy between the city and country has led the Legislature, by an unfair apportionment, to refuse to the cities their just representation. Therefore a Republican majority will usually be elected to both branches of the Legislature, even when the State has gone Democratic. Thus it has happened, that only in two instances during the last twenty-five years, has a Democratic Governor found a Democratic Legislature. One of these instances was in 1883.

When Governor Cleveland came to Albany both branches of the Legislature were Democratic. It was, therefore, hoped that the reforms long waited

for might be accomplished, and that the principle of local self-government might at last be rigidly applied to the two great cities. But meanwhile serious difficulties had arisen in the cities themselves. In Brooklyn Democratic supremacy had been destroyed, and a Republican chosen to the mayoralty, who was supported by a considerable body of Democrats. In New York the Democracy had become divided into two organizations, both jealous of each other and both striving for local control. This condition of affairs has prevented the work of reform from being accomplished. As respects Brooklyn much has been done by the application of the principle of local responsibility.

In New York great changes have been made. A system of fees, yielding to certain officials extravagant emoluments, has been abolished, and the power of the Mayor has been vastly increased. By these new laws the Mayor of New York has been given a power almost without example. He is, within his sphere, more powerful than any other official in the United States, and it must be remembered that the sphere is not a narrow one. The city government, as respects the magnitude of its operations and its revenues and expenditures, is far more important than that of the State, and is second only to the Federal Government. In this domain the Mayor is now supreme. He has an unrestricted power of appointment to most of the

great offices, and will hold all departments of the government, with the exception of the financial department, entirely in his control.

This change denotes a great reaction in public opinion. During the period which begun with Jefferson's administration and ended with the outbreak of the Civil War, political opinion had demanded a restriction of executive power. Measures of reform were generally measures which diminished the function of the executive and which widened the field of popular action. By the Constitution of 1847 the Governor of New York had been shorn of all his patronage and most of his authority. Offices, both executive and judicial, which had hitherto been filled by appointment had been made elective. A system of short terms and frequent elections had been introduced. It seemed as if the experience of more than half a century had satisfied the people of their capacity for self-government, and had created a desire that there should be a direct government by the people, and as little as possible a representative one.

During the last ten years, however, there has been a strong tendency in another direction. During that time the patronage of the Governor has been largely increased. Several important departments of the State government have been taken away from officers elected by the people, and given into the hands of officers appointed by the Governor. He has been vested with the extraordinary

power of vetoing items in the appropriation bills. The effect of this change has been to make him a part of the Legislature, so that his opinion is frequently taken upon matters involving the expenditure of public moneys, before a law is passed or even introduced.

Meanwhile, a strong distrust of Legislative bodies has grown up. This is shown in the state of public opinion with reference to the Legislature and to Congress. It would seem as if further experience of our system had dissatisfied the people with a government based upon Legislative authority, and had taught them to trust more to executives of their own choice, invested with great powers and responsible to them alone.

The question as to which is the better government, one in which the Legislature is the chief, or one in which the executive is the chief is an old question. The one is parliamentary government, the other is a dictatorship. A wise and patriotic parliament has often rendered great service to mankind. An enlightened prince has sometimes aided the progress of our race. But it is a strange conclusion that it is safer for a free people to govern themselves by dictators periodically chosen, than by an open assemblage of representatives who act after deliberation and debate. And yet, so decided is this popular distrust of Legislative methods that there is now a strong pressure brought to bear, and even from many Democratic quarters,

in favor of an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, giving to the President power to veto items in appropriation bills. If this power were given him he would have authority never yet given to the Governor of a free people. If the President of the United States, in addition to his power of appointments, had such an enormous veto power, there would be little limit to the authority which a bold and able man might exercise. Who can doubt what its effect would be? It may be said that the United States has not yet suffered from the ambition of its public men. This source of social and political evils, which in Europe has been so prolific, has never caused disturbance here. But the danger exists here as well as there. The passions of men are the same here. An American Democracy cannot safely entrust unrestricted power to its rulers any more than can the citizens of a European State. Neither would they escape the consequences of a confidence so blind and unreasonable.

The change which has been made in the municipal government of New York is in harmony with the drift of public opinion. What the consequences of that change are to be cannot certainly be predicted, but there are many thoughtful men who do not look to the future with the confidence which must have inspired those who have brought about this remarkable alteration.

The Governor's attitude upon this subject is

worthy of careful attention. His position was an embarrassing one. He had advised the Legislature to give self-government to the municipalities. The form of government, however, he had not undertaken to prescribe, nor is it probable that he had formed a definite opinion upon that subject. The bill which was presented to him, increasing the power of the Mayor, was not one which he had advised. It is most likely that when he came to act upon it he was largely influenced by the consideration that the question of the proposed change was a Legislative question rather than one for the executive to decide. He accompanied his signature of the bill with a memorandum, giving the reason of his act, which is, in many respects, the most thoughtful as it is the most important of his State papers. His arguments had a great effect upon public opinion, and seemed to put an end to doubts, which at the time, were anxiously expressed in all parts of the State. It is likely, however, that those who adhere upon principle to the theory of a government of limited powers, a part of which are to be exercised by the Legislature, a part by the executive, and a part by the judiciary, and in which the powers of each department shall be subject to clearly-defined limitations, are not convinced that it is wise to invest any public officer with an authority so great and irresponsible as that which after the 1st of January next will be exercised by the Mayor of New York.

Instead of introducing changes as to which the people of the community had expressed no opinion, and which never had in any way been submitted to them for their judgment, the Legislature, had it desired to follow the recommendations of the Governor, might have passed an act providing for a municipal convention which should have power to frame a charter, and for the submission of the charter to the people. Had such a charter been framed and accepted the city of New York would have had its own government created by itself. If evils of administration had followed, they alone would have been the sufferers. The correction of these evils, if the power had been placed in their hands, would have been brought about by natural and inevitable laws, for if those who suffer and have the power to correct public wrongs will not do it, it is quite certain that no one else can or will. The Message of Governor Cleve- is given here quite fully, and all who read it will recognize the candor and the courage of its author:

"EXECUTIVE CHAMBER,
"ALBANY, March 17, 1884.

"The interest which has been aroused regarding the merits of this bill, and quite a determined hostility which has been developed on the part of those entitled to respectful consideration, appear to justify a brief reference to the principles and purposes which seem to me to be involved in the

GOVERNOR'S ROOM IN STATE CAPITOL AT ALBANY, N. Y.

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measure, and an incidental statement of the process of thought by which I have been led to approve the same.

"The opponents of the bill have invoked the inviolability of the right of the people to rule themselves, and have insisted upon the preservation of a wise distribution of power among the different branches of government; and I have listened to solemn warning, against the subversive tendency of the concentration of power in municipal rule, and the destructive consequences of any encroachment upon the people's rights and prerogatives.

"I hope I have not entirely misconceived the scope and reach of this bill; but it seems to me that my determination as to whether or not it should become a law does not depend upon the reverence I entertain for such fundamental principles.

"The question is not whether certain officers heretofore elected by the people of the city of New York shall, under the provisions of a new law, be appointed. The transfer of power from an election by the people to an appointment by other authority, has already been made.

"The present charter of the city provides that the mayor 'shall nominate, and by and with the consent of the Board of Aldermen, appoint the heads of departments.'

"The bill under consideration provides that

after the 1st day of January, 1885, 'all appointments to office in the city of New York now made by the Mayor and confirmed by the Board of Aldermen, shall be made by the Mayor without such confirmation.'

"The change proposed is clearly apparent.

"By the present charter the Mayor, elected by all the people of the city, if a majority of twenty-four Aldermen elected by the voters of twenty-four separate districts concur with him, may appoint the administrative officers who shall have charge and management of the city departments.

"The bill presented for my action allows the Mayor alone to appoint these officers. This authority is not conferred upon the Mayor now in office, who was chosen without anticipation on the part of the people who elected him, that he should exercise this power, but upon the incoming Mayor who, after the passage of the act, shall be elected with the full knowledge on the part of the people, at the time they cast their votes, that they are constituting an agent to act for them in the selection of certain other city officers.

"This selection under either statute is delegated by the people. In the one case it is exercised by the chief executive acting with twenty-four officers representing as many different sections of the municipality; in the other by the chief executive alone.

"I cannot see that any principle of Democratic

rule is more violated in the one case than in the other. It appears to be a mere change of instrumentalities.

"It will hardly do to say that because the Aldermen are elected annually, and the Mayor every two years, that the former are nearer the people and more especially their representatives. The difference in their terms is not sufficient to make a distinction in their direct relation to the citizen.

"Nor are the rights of the people to self-government in theory and principal, better protected when the power of appointment is vested in twenty-five men, twenty-four of whom are responsible only to their constituents in their respective districts, than when this power is put in the hands of one man elected by all the people of the municipality with particular reference to the exercise of such power. Indeed in the present condition of affairs, if disagreement arises between the Mayor and the Aldermen, the selection of officers by the representative of all the people, might be defeated by the adverse action of thirteen representatives of thirteen aldermanic districts. And it is perfectly apparent that these thirteen might, and often would, represent a decided minority of the people of the municipality.

"It cannot be claimed that an arrangement which permits such a result is pre-eminently democratic.

"It has been urged that the proposed change

is opposed to the principle of home rule. If it is intended to claim that the officers, the creation of which is provided for, should be elected, it has no relevancy; for that question is not in any manner presented for my determination. And it surely cannot be said that the doctrine of home rule prevents any change by the Legislature of the organic law of municipalities. The people of the city cannot themselves make such change; and if Legislative aid cannot be invoked to that end, it follows that abuses, flagrant and increasing must be continued, and existing charter provisions, the inadequacy of which for the protection and prosperity of the people is freely admitted, must be perpetuated. It is the interference of the Legislature with the administration of municipal government, by agencies arbitrarily created by legislative enactment, and the assumption by the law-making power of the State, of the rights to regulate such details of city government as are or should be under the supervision of local authorities, that should be condemned as a violation of the doctrine of home rule.

"In any event I am convinced that I should not disapprove the bill before me on the ground that it violates any principle which is now recognized and exemplified in the government of the city of New York.

"I am also satisfied that as between the system now prevailing and that proposed, expediency

and a close regard to improved municipal administration lead to my approval of the measure.

"If the chief executive of the city is to be held responsible for its order and good government, he should not be hampered by any interference with his selection of subordinate administrative officers; nor should he be permitted to find in a divided responsibility an excuse for any neglect of the best interests of the people.

"The plea should never be heard that a bad nomination had been made because it was the only one that could secure confirmation.

"No instance has been cited in which a bad appointment has been prevented, by the refusal of the Board of Aldermen of the city of New York to confirm a nomination.

"An absolute and undivided responsibility on the part of the appointing power accords with correct business principles, the application of which to public affairs will always, I believe, direct the way to good administration and the protection of the people's interests.

"The intelligence and watchfulness of the citizens of New York, should certainly furnish a safe guarantee that the duties and powers devolved by this legislation upon their chosen representative, will be well and wisely bestowed; and if they err or are betrayed, their remedy is close at hand.

"I can hardly realize the unprincipled boldness

of the man who would accept at the hands of his neighbors this sacred trust, and standing alone in the full light of public observation, should willfully prostitute his powers and defy the will of the people.

"To say that such a man could by such means perpetuate his wicked rule, concedes either that the people are vile or that self-government is a deplorable failure.

"It is claimed that because some of these appointees become members of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment, which determines very largely the amount of taxation, therefore the power to select them should not be given to the Mayor. If the question presented was whether officials having such important duties and functions should be elected by the people or appointed, such a consideration might well be urged in favor of their election. But they are now appointed, and they will remain appointive whether the proposed bill should be rejected or approved. This being the situation, the importance of the duties to be performed by these officials, has to do with the care to be exercised in their selection, rather than the choice between the two modes of appointment which are under consideration.

"For some time prior to the year 1872, these appointments were made by the mayor without confirmation, as is contemplated by the bill now before me. In that year a measure passed the

Legislature giving the power of appointment to the Common Council. The chief executive of the State at that time was a careful and thorough student of municipal affairs, having large and varied experience in public life. He refused to approve the bill, on the ground that it was a departure from the principle which should be applied to the administration of the affairs of the city and for the reason that the Mayor should be permitted to appoint the subordinate administrative officers without the interference of any other authority.

"This reference to the treatment of the subject by one of my distinguished predecessors in office, affords me the opportunity to quote from his able and vigorous veto message which he sent to the Legislature on that occasion. He said:

"'Nowhere on this continent is it so essentially a condition of good government as in the City of New York, that the chief executive officer should be clothed with ample powers, have full control over subordinate administrative departments, and so be subject to an undivided responsibility to the people and to public opinion for all errors, short comings and wrong doings by subordinate officers.'

"He also said:

"'Give to the city a chief executive, with full power to appoint all heads of administrative departments. Let him have power to remove his

subordinates, being required to publicly assign his reason.'

"He further declared:

"'The members of the Common Council, in New York, will exert all the influence over appointments which is consistent with the public good, without having the legal power of appointment, *or any part of it*, vested in their hands.'

"In 1876, after four added years of reflection and observation, he said, in a public address, when suggesting a scheme of municipal government:

"'Have, therefore, no provision in your charter requiring the consent of the Common Council to the Mayor's appointments of heads of departments; *that only opens the way for dictation by the Council or for bargains.* This is not the way to get good men nor to fix the full responsibility for mal-administration upon the people's chosen prime minister.'

"These are the utterances of one who, during two terms had been Mayor of the City of New York and for two terms Recorder of that city; and who for four years had been Governor of the State.

"No testimony, it seems to me, could be more satisfactory and convincing.

"It is objected that this bill does not go far enough, and that there should be a re-arrangement of the terms of these officers; also that some of them should be made elective. This is undoubt-

edly true; and I shall be glad to approve further judicious legislation supplementary to this, which shall make the change more valuable and surround it with safeguards in the interests of the citizens. But such further legislation should be well digested and conservative, and, above all, not proposed for the purpose of gaining a mere partisan advantage.

"I have not referred to the pernicious practices which the present mode of making appointments in the City of New York engenders, nor in the constantly recurring bad results for which it is responsible. They are in the plain sight of every citizen of the State.

"I believe the change made by the provisions of this bill gives opportunity for an improvement in the administration of municipal affairs; and I am satisfied that the measure violates no right of the people of the locality affected, which they now enjoy. But the best opportunities will be lost and the most perfect plan of city government will fail, unless the people recognize their responsibilities and appreciate and realize the privileges and duties of citizenship. With the most carefully devised charter, and with all the protection which legislative enactments can afford them, the people of the City of New York will not secure a wise and economical rule until those having the most at stake determine to actively interest themselves in the conduct of municipal affairs.

"GROVER CLEVELAND."

CHAPTER IX.

THE GOVERNORSHIP.

SECOND MESSAGE AND GENERAL OFFICIAL COURSE.

WHEN Governor Cleveland had parted with his first legislature, public opinion with reference to him had undergone a great change. He was no longer an unknown nor an untried man. He had, of course, displeased many people. His action both in vetoing and signing bills had affected important interests, and it was impossible for him to escape criticism. There can, however, be no doubt that the general judgment of disinterested people was favorable to him, and he was recognized by all as a firm and courageous man who took great pains to find his duty, who came to his conclusions deliberately, and acted upon them without fear.

So industrious a governor had never been seen in Albany. No hard-working lawyer has ever devoted himself to business with an industry greater than he had shown in doing the public's work. He came to his room in the capitol at nine o'clock in the morning, and he seldom left it, except to take his meals, before midnight. He examined every bill with a close and critical

attention, nor ever decided upon one with whose provisions he was not perfectly familiar. The same care was taken with all other official acts. The result has been not only an excellent performance of the public service, but the Governor has, himself, received a severe discipline and a wide education from his labors. His second annual message is a thorough and able document, and shows that he had made himself familiar with the concerns of all departments of the State government, and was able to present important suggestions for the increase of their efficiency.

To every department he had given a proper share of his time, thought and attention.

The building of a new capitol has been a work of great embarrassment. It was begun under the expectation that it could be built for about four million dollars. It is not yet finished and has cost sixteen millions. For a long time it was in charge of a commission appointed by the Governor and Senate. In 1865 the constitution of the commission was changed, and the duties of Capitol Commissioner was devolved upon three of the State officers, the Lieutenant Governor, the Attorney-General and the Auditor of the Canal Department. A change of administration had led to a change of plan, but no changes had brought about any diminution of cost. Nor was that possible in view of the scale upon which the

building had been begun. Unlike most of his predecessors, Governor Cleveland at once evinced a great interest in this work. He expressed a desire that it should be completed during his term; that the delays which had been frequent should no longer be permitted, and that the appropriations should be sufficient to carry it continuously forward. He was willing to become, himself, directly responsible for it. Accordingly, he assented to a radical change in the administration of the building by which future construction was placed under the charge of a single commissioner.

The insane asylums and the other charitable institutions have had the advantage of his watchfulness and care. He has insisted upon economy in expenditures, but he has constantly shown that he has taken a personal as well as an official interest in their welfare.

The National Guard of New York has long been a subject of importance to the Commonwealth. It has been brought to a state of discipline quite unusual, and may be favorably compared with any body of volunteer soldiery. From the first, Governor Cleveland showed great interest in the organization. He selected his staff with an express reference to the promotion of its efficiency, and he has given a very unusual amount of his time and attention to its affairs.

He approved two measures relating to the sol-

diers of the late war. By one of these acts Union soldiers and sailors are given preference for employment upon the public works. By another, provision is made for the completion of the records of the New York volunteers during the war, and for their safe keeping.

In a community so large as New York, and containing so many great cities, the pardoning power becomes one of the governor's most important prerogatives. During Governor Cleveland's term this power has been exercised with extraordinary thoughtfulness and discretion. It is impossible here to present the details of his action in the performance of this duty, but any one who chooses to examine the memorandum which always accompanies a pardon will find that every case has been thoroughly examined, and that his opinion has been formed after judicially considering all the facts and circumstances.

So, too, in the performance of the more painful duty of deciding upon charges against public officers, the Governor has a considerable power of removal. This power applies to sheriffs, district attorneys, and some other officials. He has always exercised it after great deliberation and in a way which showed a strong sense of public duty. A remarkable instance was the case of the District Attorney of Queens County, against whom charges had been made of malfeasance in office. It is not in any way important here to recite these charges.

The most interesting matter connected with this subject is the time and manner of the Governor's action. An election was pending, and the accused officer had been nominated by the Democrats for the State Senate. If he were removed from office it was quite clear that his Republican opponent would be elected. The Governor, however, did not hesitate to act by reason of these political considerations, and having made up his mind, he issued the order of removal on the 29th of October, about one week before the election.

Among the measures passed during his first winter was an Act providing for the appointment of a Commission to select and set-apart such lands as might be found to be necessary for the preservation of the scenery at Niagara Falls. All the islands immediately above the falls, and the lands upon the main shore, had early in the century been sold to private citizens. Some of them have been devoted to manufacturing purposes, the forests upon the main land have been cut down, and a process of deterioration has begun, which, if continued, will soon destroy the charm and interest which Niagara has had, as an object of natural beauty and sublimity.

It had been some time in contemplation to preserve Niagara by creating a State reservation, by removing unsightly constructions and restoring, so far as practicable, the scenery to its original character. The efforts in this direction had been

thwarted by the action of Governor Cornell, who had indicated that if the proposed measure were passed, he would refuse to sign it. Governor Cleveland, however, showed a generous disposition to the undertaking, and encouraged the passage of the bill. The final step for the completion of this work will probably be taken at the next session of the Legislature, and if the recommendations of the Commissioners are approved, Governor Cleveland's administration will have won the regard of the lovers of nature in all parts of the world.

One important function which Governor Cleveland has exercised, may be said to be original with himself, and is shown in the frequency with which he has returned defective measures to the Legislature for correction. It cannot be said that this had not been done before but it had never been done so often nor with such thoroughness. It was his custom, when examining bills which were presented to him for signature, not only to consider whether they were constitutional or not, but to carefully determine whether they accomplished the objects for which they were intended, and also whether their provisions could not be improved. He has frequently returned defective bills to the Legislature with an elaborate communication not only pointing out defects but explaining how they could be remedied. This work devolved upon him a great labor, but has been of

high value to the State. Defects in the drawing of laws are a source of constant difficulty, and of litigations which occupy a large part of the time of the courts.

Among the important measures which he was unable to sign on account of the defective condition in which it came to him, was what has been known as The Tenure of Office Bill, being an Act fixing and regulating the terms of office of certain public officers in the City of New York. The reasons which the Governor gave for vetoing this measure were so conclusive that the author of the bill heartily approved of the Governor's action, which was also commended by the journals in New York, which had at first expressed dissatisfaction with his action.

When Governor Cleveland entered upon his office he was convinced of the necessity of a reform in the Civil Service, especially as to the selection of subordinate officers. The Democratic party in New York had been committed to this policy by declarations repeatedly made by its State Conventions. One of the first acts of the Democratic Legislature of 1883 was the passage of a bill establishing a Board of Civil Service Commissioners, who were to devise a system for the reform of the service, not only in the departments of the State government, but also in the municipalities of the State. The Commission was made up by the appointment of John Jay,

Augustus Schoonmaker and Henry A. Richmond. This system has been put in operation in respect to all State officers and institutions.

The Adirondack wilderness stretches over a mountainous region about one hundred miles in length and sixty in width, in the northeastern corner of the State. This country was, until lately, in its primeval state; its forests were full of game, and its beautiful lakes and rivers abounded with fish. It was the occasional resort of adventurous travelers. But twenty years ago a journey into the Adirondacks was in the nature of an exploration, and was undertaken only by those who were willing to endure some hardships and to encounter some dangers.

These conditions have lately changed. The mountains have been made accessible, and are now resorted to by crowds of summer tourists, and hotels have been built upon the principal lakes. The State has, from time to time, sold many of the lands, and the forests have been cut off from large areas. The great rivers of the State take their rise in this region,—the Hudson, the Mohawk and the Black River. Their waters supply the Erie Canal and the upper channels of the Hudson, and are essential to the commerce of the State. The rapid destruction of the northern woods endangers the water courses by exposing them to disastrous inundations and to protracted droughts. Plans for the

preservation of the forests have been much discussed by the public press and by the New York Chambers of Commerce and other public bodies.

In his second message the Governor treated this subject at length, and under his inspiration the Legislature has taken cautious action, and a Commission of Inquiry has been appointed.

No thoughtful person, who has read this brief summary of Mr. Cleveland's career as Governor, will fail to notice how he has grown with time and the occasion. The hand which took the reins of power hesitatingly has become accustomed to them, and now holds them in a firm and skillful grasp.

A speech which the Governor made at the Albany High School contains some observations which must have been derived from his own experience. It is here given both as an expression of his opinions upon important subjects, and by reason of its biographical value. He said:

"I accepted the invitation of your principal to visit your school this morning with pleasure, because I expected to see much that would gratify and interest me. In this I have not been disappointed. But I must confess that if I had known that my visit here involved my attempting to address you, I should have hesitated, and quite likely have declined the invitation.

"I hasten to assure you now that there is not the slightest danger of my inflicting a speech upon you, and that I shall do but little more than to express my pleasure

in the proof I have of the excellence of the methods and management of the school, and of the opportunities which those who attend have within their reach of obtaining a superior education.

"I never visit a school in these days without contrasting the advantages of the scholar of to-day with those of a time not many years in the past. Within my remembrance even, the education which is freely offered you was only secured by those whose parents were able to send them to academies and colleges. And thus, when you entered this school very many of you began where your parents left off.

"The theory of the State in furnishing more and better schools for the children, is that it tends to fit them to better perform their duties as citizens, and that an educated man or woman is apt to be more useful as a member of the community,

"This leads to the thought that those who avail themselves of the means thus tendered them are in duty bound to make such use of their advantages as that the State shall receive in return the educated and intelligent citizens and members of the community which it has the right to expect from its schools. You, who will soon be the men of the day, should consider that you have assumed an obligation to fit yourselves by the education, which you may, if you will, receive in this school, for the proper performance of any duty of citizenship, and to fill any public station to which you may be called. And it seems to me to be none the less important that those who are to be the wives and mothers should be educated, refined and intelligent. To tell the truth, I should be afraid to trust the men, educated though they should be, if they were not surrounded by pure and true woman-

hood. Thus it is that you all, now and here, from the oldest to the youngest, owe a duty to the State which can only be answered by diligent study and the greatest possible improvement. It is too often the case that in all walks and places the disposition is to render the least possible return to the State for the favors which she bestows.

"If the consideration which I have mentioned fails to impress you, let me remind you of what you have often heard, that you owe it to yourselves and the important part of yourselves to seize, while you may, the opportunities to improve your minds, and store into them, for your own future use and advantage, the learning and knowledge now fairly within your reach.

"None of you desire or expect to be less intelligent or educated than your fellows. But unless the notions of scholars have changed, there may be those among you who think that in some way or manner, after the school day is over, there will be an opportunity to regain any ground now lost, and to complete an education without a present devotion to school requirements. I am sure this is a mistake. A moment's reflection ought to convince all of you that when you have once entered upon the stern, uncompromising and unrelenting duties of mature life, there will be no time for study. You will have a contest then forced upon you which will strain every nerve and engross every faculty. A good education, if you have it, will aid you, but if you are without it, you cannot stop to acquire it. When you leave the school you are well equipped for the van in the army of life, or you are doomed to be a laggard, aimlessly and listlessly following in the rear.

"Perhaps a reference to truths so trite is useless here.

I hope it is. But I have not been able to forego the chance to assure those who are hard at work that they will surely see their compensation, and those, if any such there are, who find school duties irksome, and neglect or slightingly perform them, that they are trifling with serious things and treading on dangerous ground."

CHAPTER X.

THE PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION.

DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES, MCDONALD, RANDALL, THURMAN, MORRISON, CARLISLE, FIELD, BAYARD.

It was inevitable that immediately after his election men should begin to consider Governor Cleveland as a probable candidate for the Presidency. There are powerful circumstances which always tend to the nomination of a New Yorker by the Democratic National Convention. As long as the party is out of power these influences are likely to control. The vote of the State in the electoral college is necessary to success, and the wealth of the State must be relied upon to provide for the expenses of a campaign. It has happened, therefore, that since 1860 all the Democratic candidates for the Presidency, except one, have been New Yorkers, or residents of New York. For these reasons it is hardly possible for any one to come into special prominence in the politics of the State without being looked upon as a presidential possibility. This was particularly so when a citizen came into the governorship by a majority of nearly two hundred thousand.

The Governorship of New York had before been the theatre where great national reputation was won. In that office Horatio Seymour had gained a fame wider and more tenderly cherished than any Democrat of his time. He had never held any federal employment whatever. All his public life had been passed in the service of the State, and two terms as governor had made him the leader of his party, the recognized advocate of its cause, and, in 1868, its nominee for President.

In the Governorship, Samuel J. Tilden had made himself the most influential public man of the day. He took office during General Grant's second term at a time when public thought was given to federal affairs, and when Washington was the centre of political activities. Within six months after Governor Tilden came to Albany, that city had become the political centre, and he the most prominent man in public life. His ingenious, fertile and subtle intellect soon devised interesting and far-reaching policies most attractive to thoughtful men, especially to those who were influenced by the existing discontents, who sought a reform in the administration of affairs and aspired to higher and more intellectual political life. His career at Albany brought him a triumphant nomination to the Presidency, and carried him successfully through one of the most vehement contests ever known in this country.

The fraudulent devices by which the will of the people was defeated had indeed deprived him of the office to which he had been chosen, but had brought to him a great accession of strength in the popular sympathy and respect. The state of his health had prevented him from accepting a re-nomination in 1880, but during the past year there arose a demand, quite universal, for his nomination in 1884. All obstacles created by personal hostilities, all jealousies, all aspirations of rivals, and all interests of locality disappeared before this vehement and commanding opinion. Had he been permitted to yield to the popular wish, he would have been nominated by his party without a ballot, and with a unanimity not seen in our history since the second administration of Jackson. But it had long been known to intimate friends that the resolve of 1880 was unchanged, and that his health would not permit him to take an office the duties of which are so onerous and exacting. It was known therefore, at least to the better instructed public men in New York, that Governor Tilden would not be a candidate. His candidacy was not an obstacle to any other aspirant. This was not, however, generally believed by the people and even up to within a few weeks before the Convention the belief was common that Mr. Tilden would accept the nomination, and many delegates to the National Convention were chosen as his supporters.

ALLEN G. THURMAN.

SAMUEL J. TILDEN.

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It was by no means clear to the politicians of New York what should be done. Difficulties had arisen in the way of Governor Cleveland's nomination. In 1863 the Republicans had elected one of their candidates on the State ticket. Mr. Purcell, the editor of the *Rochester Union*, had been the Democratic candidate for Secretary of State in 1881 and had been defeated with the rest of the ticket, all the Democratic nominees having also been defeated, except one. In 1883 he was again a candidate, but his renomination was opposed and defeated by those who were supposed to have acted in accordance with the wishes of the Governor. This incident produced a considerable discontent, which showed itself at the election by the defeat of Mr. Maynard, who had been nominated in place of Mr. Purcell. All the other Democratic candidates were elected, but both branches of the Legislature were lost.

This untoward event the first year of Mr. Cleveland's governorship, was considered by many as most ominous, and as putting him out of the question as a Presidential candidate. But as time advanced and the meeting of another Legislature again brought his official acts to the public notice and consideration the adverse opinions seemed to diminish.

Mr. Roswell P. Flower, his rival for the Governorship, came openly forward as a Presidential candidate in all parts of the State. Even before

the State Committee had issued its call for a Convention, constituencies began to elect delegates in Mr. Flower's interest. General Slocum was also spoken of, but his name soon came to be more frequently associated with the Vice-Presidency, for which he would doubtless have been nominated had a western man been chosen for the first place. Mr. Abram S. Hewitt was also considered, and there were many reasons which favored his selection. There are few men in the public life of the country, who equal him in attainments, and in the variety and value of his services. But the opinion of the State steadily tended towards Governor Cleveland, with a daily increasing strength, retarded mainly by the doubts which existed as to Mr. Tilden's intentions.

During all this time, Governor Cleveland occupied a passive attitude. He took no steps whatever to promote his nomination. To those who approached him, even his most intimate friends, he was either silent or expressed a preference that the matter should be dropped. He told the writer that the discussion of his name was merely a temporary incident, and that he did not think there was any strong desire for his nomination. He steadily refused to have any of the usual means employed. He declined to have letters written in his behalf, or to have any efforts made to secure the election of delegates in his favor from other States. He, in terms, forbade the

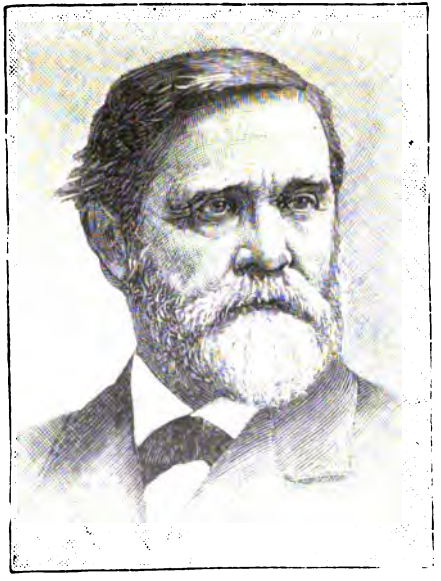
raising of any money, or the employment of any agents, or the sending out of any biographical or other literary matter, to direct attention or influence opinion. He said, "If my party friends in New York choose to present my name to the National Convention, and if the delegates from other States think well of it, and give me the nomination, I will accept it, and if elected, will do my duty as well as I can; but I will not myself do, nor will I permit any one whom I can control to do, anything to influence party action upon the subject."

The candidacy of Governor Cleveland was greatly strengthened by the situation of other public men in the party. For a time it seemed as if the Western States would be substantially united in favor of Mr. McDonald, lately United States Senator from Indiana, but as the time for the nomination approached, it became manifest that the movement in his favor would not be sufficiently strong to control Ohio and Illinois, nor even a majority of the delegations from the Northwest. There was some division of opinion in his own State, and notwithstanding the adhesion of Mr. Hendricks to his cause, it can hardly be doubted that there were a large number of Democrats in Indiana who preferred Hendricks to McDonald.

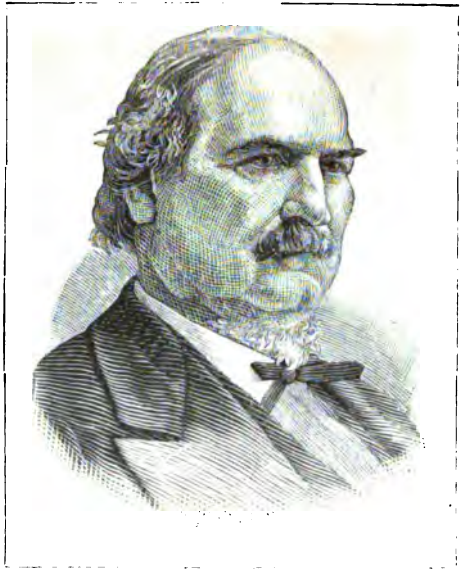
In Illinois was General Palmer, an eminent lawyer and a distinguished officer during the Civil War, and also Colonel William R. Morrison, the

Democratic leader of the House. Colonel Morrison has remarkable qualifications for the Presidency, and a career which has been full of interesting incident. He was a soldier at Buena Vista, and carried a musket in the ranks of the Illinois regiment all through that day. He was the first Union officer wounded at Donelson, and was shot through the body while leading his regiment in the first assault upon the fort. He has been in the House since 1863, and knows the Government, and its affairs, as well as any man in the country. He is a frank and generous man, an open foe, a tenacious friend. He has always maintained the ancient doctrines of his party, and has never yielded to the heresies which have sometimes swept other men from their feet. His record as to public expenditures, the tariff, and the currency, has been without defect. His election would have brought into the White House an old-fashioned Democrat, plain in manners, prompt in speech, with an abundance of shrewd sense and dauntless courage. But for reasons not well understood outside of the State, neither Colonel Morrison nor General Palmer could bring a united delegation from Illinois.

Mr. Randall was presented by Pennsylvania early in the spring. He had afterwards lost a great opportunity. He organized and led a successful opposition to the efforts his party was making to reduce taxation. Had he been willing



WILLIAM R. MORRISON.



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to take a practicable and obvious course; had he assented to the party measures, which he could easily have shaped, and led the Democrats of the House in their attacks upon the oppressive and unnecessary taxation, he would have rendered a great service to his country, and have become the representative of a wise and beneficent policy. In such a case, his nomination would have been probable. But the course which, acting doubtless upon honorable motives, he preferred to take as to the most important measure of the session, made it certain that his nomination would cause serious divisions in the party. Mr. Carlisle, the Speaker of the House, had gained great reputation by his conduct during the session, but the condition of party opinion upon the tariff, and perhaps the fact that he was a resident of Kentucky, formerly a slave State, soon made his nomination unlikely.

In the State of Ohio, opinion was greatly divided. The defeat of Mr. Pendleton, who was a candidate for re-election to the Senate, and whose public career had been distinguished by his devotion to the reform of the civil service, had produced serious discontent among the Democrats of the State. Judge Thurman occupied such a position, and his career had been so eminent, that it was supposed that all the Democrats of Ohio would support his candidacy. This expectation, however, proved unfounded. The delegation refused to present his name.

Stephen J. Field, of California, a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, who had in former years been considered in connection with the Presidential office, was brought into prominence by the decision of the Supreme Court upon the question of the power of Congress, in time of peace, to make treasury notes a legal tender. This decision had carried what are called the implied powers of Congress mucl farther than had ever before been admitted o. even suspected. It confers upon Congress no only all that can be directly implied from the language of the Constitution, but also all that can well be imagined. To many persons this decision seems to make a complete change in our system, and if it is correct it will, doubtless, materially diminish the respect for the Constitution, almost amounting to veneration, which has hitherto been felt for it by the people.

Justice Field delivered an opinion of great learning, directness and eloquence, dissenting from the new doctrines. He stood alone in the court, and instantly in all parts of the country public thought turned towards him as one who might fitly lead the Democratic forces.

But the American people have always shown themselves unwilling to select a President from the bench of the Supreme Court. Several eminent judges have, in the past, been candidates for the nomination, but in no important

instance has any of them succeeded. This is, doubtless, due to a strong disposition to hold the judiciary as set apart from political strifes, and as, in a sense, disqualified for political office. In the case of Judge Field this disposition was, perhaps, strengthened by an opposition to him in his own State, which was carried so far that the State Convention, in terms, refused to permit the presentation of his name.

The most formidable competitor, outside of the State of New York, for the Presidential nomination, was Thomas F. Bayard, Senator from the State of Delaware. Mr. Bayard has been in the Senate ever since his early manhood. During his long career he has been identified with the best approved public measures. All tendencies in favor of reform inclined towards him. He was acceptable to those classes of men in the Republican party who were offended at party methods, and who sought a reform of administration. He is personally most attractive. He has a winning charm of conversation and of manner. His life is in all respects honorable. He is surrounded by able and influential friends, who not only respect him, but regard him with warm affection. No one doubts his fitness for the place; indeed, if such a question could be submitted to and be decided by those best able to judge, he would, doubtless, be selected for the Presidency almost without dissent in his party.

The difficulties, however, which lie in his way appear to be serious ones. He was born in what was called a slave State, although there were but few slaves in Delaware at the breaking out of the Civil War. In 1861 he delivered a speech at Dover, in Maryland, which it is thought would subject him to serious opposition in the Northern States on account of the sympathy with the South which is betrayed. This speech is extremely moderate in tone, and when one considers the time of its delivery, and Mr. Bayard's youth, and the influences which surrounded him, its moderation is remarkable. To one who remembers the condition of public opinion in June, 1861, the excitement almost reaching frenzy, which filled both North and South, the calm and patriotic expressions of the Dover address disclose a character of unusual temperance, and with a self-control not often found in one so young, nor in a time so exciting.

But whether rightfully or not, the Dover speech, taken in connection with Mr. Bayard's Southern birth, has hitherto prevented his selection. The delegates from the Southern States, themselves, are never willing to incur what they consider to be the risk of his nomination, and his own State of Delaware is so small that it has little power to assist him in a Convention. It is greatly to be regretted that Mr. Bayard rests under such disabilities, for no one doubts that he would bring

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to the Presidential office the completest qualifications, a mind thoroughly trained in affairs, and a character quite Washingtonian in its symmetry. It will be a strange and harsh result if so slight a circumstance shall permanently deprive him of our highest civic honor.

CHAPTER XI.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

THE MORRISON BILL—THE STATE CONVENTION.

THE Presidential question had been greatly affected by the course of events in Congress. The result of the session had been such as to leave the Democracy without a clearly defined political issue. A demand for reform hardly presents a question of politics, but must always depend upon professions which can be made as easily by one party as by the other.

When Congress met it seemed to be easy to make an issue of the most absorbing character. The former Congress had refused to reduce taxation. The public revenues had swollen to enormous dimensions, and were largely in excess of the necessities of the Government. One would say that it would be difficult to present to a practical and business people like the Americans, a subject more likely to interest them than the abolition of unnecessary taxes. They were descended from a people who had deposed and beheaded their king because of grievances about taxation. Their ancestors, when poor and few in numbers, had for

a similar reason revolted and waged an eight years' war.

It was easy to cut off seventy millions of taxes. The Democrats in the House set themselves to this work with considerable confidence of success. The only doubt was, as to whether the Republican Senate would concur. But if the Senate should refuse, the issue would be sent to the country under the most favorable conditions for Democratic success in the elections. It was not thought that the Republicans would walk into so open a trap. But the Republicans at once refused to consent to the reduction of taxation. They seemed to think that high taxes were of the essence of good government.

Mr. Blaine, early in the session proposed, in a public letter, that the taxes upon distilled spirits should be made permanent, and that when no longer needed by the Federal Government, the revenues should be distributed among the States. Such a measure would destroy the last vestige of State independence. Relieved of the necessity of providing for local purposes, the State Legislatures would soon disappear, and the government of the country become a consolidated one.

The measures contemplated by the Democrats were designed to effect a reduction of between sixty and seventy millions, of which about one-half was to be taken from the tariff and the remainder from internal taxes. The first of these meas-

ures, that relating to the tariff, was known as the Morrison Bill, and was reported to the House as soon as it could be matured by the committee.

A party caucus approved it. The Democrats had a majority so large as to be able to carry any measure they supported. But some of their number determined, on one ground and another, to oppose the bill, and the question of its consideration was saved from defeat by a narrow majority. After a debate lasting three weeks, at the stage of the proceedings when, under the rules, amendment was for the first time possible, a Democratic Representative from Ohio moved that the enacting clause be stricken out. This motion had to be decided without debate and was carried by a majority of two, forty Democrats voting with the Republicans in favor of the motion.

This action prevented any political issue from being based upon a reform of the tariff and the reduction of taxes. It is believed that it is the only instance in history in which a party out of power, and soliciting the favor of the people, has deliberately refused to reduce unnecessary taxes.

It is commonly said that Democratic defeats during the past fifteen years have been due to the blunders of the Democrats themselves. But this is perhaps a superficial opinion. The cause of the defeats may more easily be found, in the lack of that unity of opinion which must exist in order that

a voluntary association, like a political party, shall have coherency and discipline.

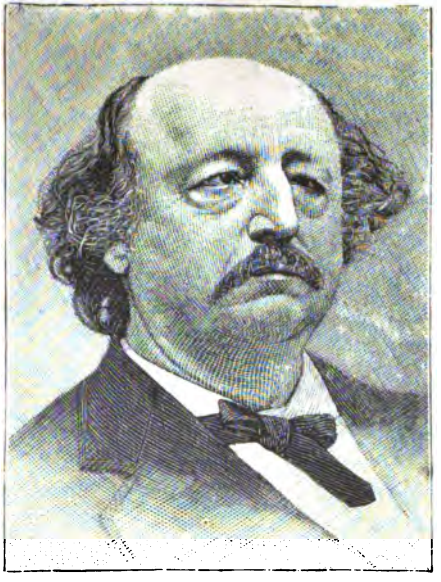
The absence of any political issue between the parties was favorable to the nomination of a candidate who had not been connected with Federal affairs.

The Republican Convention, however, supplied the country with another issue. The nomination of Mr. Blaine presented a serious question as to his fitness. He had been charged with gross misconduct, and even in his own party there were many who believed the charges to be true. His nomination was followed by a great defection, and among the dissenters were men of the highest political and personal consideration. Most prominent among them were George William Curtis, the editor of *Harpers' Weekly*, and Carl Shurz, a German, who has played a distinguished part in our affairs.

Mr. Blaine's nomination made it essential that the Democratic candidate should antagonize him as to the matters which subjected him to reproach. The New York State Convention was appointed to meet on the 18th of June, and the week before Mr. Tilden broke the silence which up to that time he had preserved, and published a letter, addressed to Mr. Manning, the Chairman of the State Committee, announcing to the public his intention, long privately known, not to accept the Presidential nomination.

This event brought matters to a crisis. The name of Governor Cleveland was immediately presented to the people by an article in the *Albany Argus*, to which paper is given the character of the party organ. It was received with favor in all parts of the country, and particularly so by the Republican journals which had refused to support Mr. Blaine, and by the citizens whom they represented. In some of the States there was at once a strong drift of sentiment in favor of Cleveland, but in New York there sprung up a vigorous and resolute opposition to him. The *New York Sun*, the paper of the widest circulation, and by far the most influential of the journals which advocate Democratic doctrines, refused to accept his candidacy, and the Democrats who meet in Tammany Hall also refused to accept it. To this opposition was added that of certain of the labor and other industrial organizations, which seemed to have accepted the leadership of General Butler.

The State Convention met at Saratoga Springs under circumstances of considerable doubt as to what its action would be. There was a question before the Convention as to the representation which should be given to Tammany Hall. The Tammany men were dissatisfied with that which had been granted them in 1882–3, and demanded to be at least placed on an equality with the county Democracy. After some diffi-



BENJAMIN F. BUTLER.

ROSWELL P. FLOWER.

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culty, this demand was yielded to, but it was thought to be wise, by those who had Governor Cleveland's interests in hand, not to present to the Convention the direct question of his candidacy. In 1876, the State Convention had formally presented Governor Tilden to the consideration of the National Convention. At Saratoga, it was resolved not to follow that precedent.

The Convention confined its action, so far as respected the Presidential nomination, to the selection of delegates, and to the passage of the usual resolution, authorizing a majority of the delegation to throw the vote of the State as a unit. Immediately upon its adjournment, a serious doubt was raised as to whether the delegation was, in fact, in favor of Governor Cleveland. Two of the delegates at large were open opponents. The Brooklyn politicians, who had for years acted with what is known as the Tilden wing of the party, had, at the State Convention, stood apart from their old allies. The eight representatives of the Tammany Democracy were opponents of the Governor. Mr. Purcell was in the delegation, and was earnestly against him; and other delegates, whose number, however, was uncertain, were either favorable to Mr. Flower, or friends of Senator Bayard. Indeed, it was confidently asserted, that when the delegation came to meet at Chicago, it would be found that

a majority of its members were in favor of Mr. Bayard's nomination.

These circumstances gave rise to an angry public discussion almost without precedent, and yet amidst all the clamor, it was clearly observable that general opinion gradually tended towards Governor Cleveland. Mr. Cleveland may be said to have grown up since the war. His whole career was subsequent to that event, and none of his public actions had had any relation to the causes of difference which had produced the war, or which were involved in the controversies that came after it had ended. He had therefore no connection with the first issues which had divided parties in the past. There was against him no such obstacle as Mr. Bayard's Dover speech, and like Mr. Bayard his character and career stood in marked contrast with that of Mr. Blaine. Besides, it was easy for the Republicans who had voted for him in 1882 to do so again. In a sense he had been their Governor. They were in part responsible for him, and were satisfied with him. During all this discussion, down to the very last, Mr. Cleveland's attitude was unchanged. He had accepted the idea of his candidacy, and no longer remonstrated with the friends who were advocating it, but he turned neither to the right nor to the left.

CHAPTER XII.

THE CONVENTION AND NOMINATION.

THE UNIT RULE—PLATFORM.

It does not lie within the scope of this sketch to present a detailed account of the proceeding at Chicago. A National Convention is always an interesting expression of the political life of this country. No such thing exists or can exist anywhere else. It meets under conditions which require immediate action. The work it has to do must necessarily be done quickly, and with little discussion. So numerous an assemblage cannot long be kept together. It therefore presents a theatre where action must be prompt and decisive, and where men of strong characters, who are able to deal with great masses of people, and at once to master important affairs, find a fit field for their powers.

It is always an able body, far more able than Congress; but the Convention which assembled at Chicago on the 8th of July contained a very unusual number of important men. General Butler, who had already received the nomination of at least two political bodies, was a member of

the Massachusetts delegation. Judge Thurman was in the delegation from Ohio. Colonel Morrison and General Palmer were both representatives from Illinois, and Mr. Hendricks, who had been Mr. Tilden's rival in 1876, and had been his party's candidate that year for Vice-President, was at the head of the Indiana delegation. With him was associated Mr. Vorhees, almost unequaled for the power and effectiveness of his popular oratory. The Governor of Connecticut headed the delegation from that State. Mr. Vilas of Wisconsin, an orator who has lately risen to distinction, was the permanent President. The delegation from New York contained Mr. Belmont, Mr. Cooper, Mr. Manning, Mr. Magone, Mr. Hewitt, Mr. Thompson, Mr. Travers, Mr. Kingsley and other men of mark. A large number of the members of the House of Representatives were delegates, and several of the Senators. Nearly all the prominent Democrats in both Houses of Congress were present either as participants, or as witnesses to the proceedings of the body.

The opposition to Governor Cleveland at Chicago was carried on with the greatest vigor, under the leadership of Mr. Kelly and General Butler, assisted by the friends of Mr. Bayard and Senator Thurman. Every inch of ground was contested. Their first effort was to abrogate the rule by which a majority of a State delegation was per-

mitted to cast the entire vote of the State as a unit.

This rule was of ancient origin. The Democratic National Conventions from the first established two somewhat peculiar rules of procedure. One of these requires that a nomination must be made by the votes of two-thirds of the delegates. The other recognizes the right of the State to authorize the majority of its delegation to throw its entire vote as a unit upon all questions. The latter of these rules was made the point of attack. It had before been subjected to assault. In the National Convention of 1844 an effort was made to change it. That effort had caused a long debate, in which the ablest Democratic leaders of that time took part; but the Convention then refused to change the rule.

New York has always granted this power to the majority of its delegation, but the power has not been always used. On a memorable occasion, those who had it in their hands refrained from using it. In 1852 William L. Marcy, of New York, was a candidate for the Presidential nomination. The majority of the delegation, led by Horatio Seymour, was friendly to him, but there was a considerable opposition in the delegation. The session of the Democratic Convention of that year was very protracted. The vote of New York was divided between Mr. Marcy and other candidates. Several times the delegates

from other States, in particular those from Virginia, went to the New York leader, and told him that if the united vote of New York were thrown for Marcy they would come to his support. At one time such a movement would doubtless have produced Marcy's nomination. But the majority of the delegation was not willing to coerce their colleagues. For that reason the vote of the State was never united.

Governor Seymour, speaking of these events a few years ago, said: "It is quite likely that I there made the greatest error of my life. Had Governor Marcy been the President, we might have avoided the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and the fatal consequences of that measure. But, I could not bring myself to throw the vote of a representative against his will."

It is thought that the discussion at Chicago will lead to the abrogation of the unit rule. But there are certain considerations, not obvious at first, in favor of its continuance. The unit rule is an expression of the anatomy of the State. In a Democratic Convention the States and not the districts are represented. It is they who act and not the individual delegates. Besides, the rule adds to the power and influence of the large States. If the rule should be broken New York would not be more potent in a National Convention than New England.

This question was presented at Chicago by

some of the delegates from New York, who were powerfully seconded by gentlemen from other States. Had they succeeded the result of the Convention might have been different. The motion to change the unit rule was, of course, opposed by the friends of Governor Cleveland. After a vigorous debate the motion was defeated by a decisive vote, and it then became quite certain that Governor Cleveland's nomination could not be prevented.

The subject of the platform was also a matter of unusual interest. The action of Congress had strengthened the difference which had always existed in Democratic ranks upon the subject of tariff taxation. The Committee on Resolutions was so organized that, as to the tariff, it was quite equally divided. Mr. Watterson of Kentucky, Mr. Hewitt of New York, and Col. Morrison of Illinois were members of the Committee and represented the tariff reformers. General Butler and Mr. Converse of Ohio represented those who wished to recognize the principle of protection. Mr. Manton Marble, who was the author of the platform of 1876, a public document of unusual merit, and the declaration of principles upon which the party had succeeded at the elections for the only time in a quarter of a century, was present in Chicago and actively assisted the Committee.

The work of the Committee was finally accomplished without compromising the historic position

of the party upon the subject of the tariff. The Democratic platform, a thoughtful and elaborate document, is presented in the later pages of this volume.

Even after the vote upon the unit rule it was not certain that two-thirds of the Convention were in favor of Cleveland. Therefore, an effort was made to concentrate all the opposition to him upon some one of the candidates. It was thought that, if that could be done, a compact body of more than one-third could be organized who would so protract the proceedings as to compel the majority to assent to the nomination of some other person. This effort, however, proved unsuccessful, and upon the second ballot Governor Cleveland received the nomination by a vote of much more than two-thirds of the delegates in attendance.

Mr. Cleveland's cause at Chicago was championed by skillful politicians. Most of them came from the large cities. They were accustomed to act together, and to encounter opposition vigorously, but without unnecessary temper. Many of them were young men with the dash and energy of youth. Prominent among them were the Lieutenant-Governor, Mr. Hill; the Comptroller, Mr. Chapin; and Mr. Apgar, a politician of unusual sagacity and experience.

After a session of only four days the Convention adjourned, amidst expressions of unbounded

enthusiasm and confidence, having chosen as the Democratic candidates:

FOR PRESIDENT,

GROVER CLEVELAND,

OF NEW YORK.

FOR VICE-PRESIDENT,

THOMAS A. HENDRICKS,

OF INDIANA.

When he was nominated, Governor Cleveland was in his office at Albany. He had been there all the morning busily at work. A message came announcing the nomination. He interrupted his work long enough to receive the congratulations of some friends, and to direct that the news should be telephoned to his sister, and then turned to his desk and papers.

He has ever since treated the matter as if it was not a personal concern. He spends his days in his office as he has been accustomed to do. No introduction to him is needed. No one is excluded from his room. He will not take any part in the canvass. He will live in the Governor's house, and attend to his duties. If it is the people's will that he shall be elected, it is for them to express their purpose. He will do nothing to influence their judgment. He can do nothing more. They must decide upon the principles for which he stands, and upon his life and character.

On the 29th of July, the last event connected with his nomination took place. According to custom, the National Convention appointed a committee to inform the candidates of their selection. This ceremony took place in the drawing-room of the Governor's house at Albany. The candidate was surrounded by members of his family, by the sisters to whose support he had given the scanty earnings of his youth, and by many of his personal and political friends. The speech which he delivered in reply to the address of the Chairman of the Committee is in these words:

"*Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Committee:*

"Your formal announcement does not, of course, convey to me the first information of the result of the Convention lately held by the Democracy of the Nation, and yet, when, as I listen to your message, I see about me representatives from all parts of the land of the great party which, claiming to be the party of the people, asks them to intrust to it the administration of their government, and when I consider under the influence of the stern reality which the present surroundings create, that I have been chosen to represent the plans, purposes and the policy of the Democratic party, I am profoundly impressed by the solemnity of the occasion, and by the responsibility of my position. Though I gratefully appreciate it I do

not at this moment congratulate myself upon the distinguished honor which has been conferred upon me, because my mind is full of an anxious desire to perform well the part which has been assigned to me.

"Nor do I at this moment forget that the rights and interests of more than fifty millions of my fellow-citizens are involved in our efforts to gain Democratic supremacy. This reflection presents to my mind the consideration which more than all others gives to the action of my party in convention assembled its most sober and serious aspect. The party and its representatives which ask to be entrusted at the hands of the people with the keeping of all that concerns their welfare and their safety, should only ask it with the full appreciation of the sacredness of the trust, and with a firm resolve to administer it faithfully and well. I am a Democrat because I believe that this truth lies at the foundation of true Democracy. I have kept the faith, because I believe if rightly and fairly administered and applied, Democratic doctrines and measures will insure the happiness, contentment and prosperity of the people.

"If, in the contest upon which we now enter, we steadfastly hold to the underlying principles of our party creed, and at all times keep in view the people's good, we shall be strong, because we are true to ourselves, and because the plain and independent voters of the land will seek by their

suffrages to compass their release from party tyranny, where there should be submission to the popular will, and their protection from party corruption where there should be devotion to the people's interests. These thoughts lend a consecration to our cause, and we go forth, not merely to gain a partisan advantage, but pledged to give to those who trust us the utmost benefits of a pure and honest administration of National affairs. No higher purpose or motive can stimulate us to supreme effort, or urge us to continuous and earnest labor and effective party organization. Let us not fail in this, and we may confidently hope to reap the full reward of patriotic services well performed. I have thus called to mind some simple truths, and, trite though they are, it seems to me we do well to dwell upon them at this time. I shall soon, I hope, signify, in the usual formal manner, my acceptance of the nomination which has been tendered to me. In the meantime I gladly greet you all as co-workers in the noble cause."

CHAPTER XIII.

GENERAL ESTIMATE OF FITNESS OF CHARACTER.

In conclusion, it seems appropriate that something should be said by way of an estimate of Grover Cleveland's fitness for the great office to which he has been nominated.

It is said that he is without the necessary experience and training. But in this particular, his deficiencies, if they exist, are not without precedent. Neither Jackson, nor Taylor, nor Lincoln, nor Grant, had had as much civil experience as Cleveland has had. Jackson's short service in Congress is hardly remembered. Lincoln's only official training had been a single term in the House, and a man may be half a life-time in the House without being subjected to the discipline which a year in the Governorship of New York will give. Taylor and Grant, when they came to the Presidency, had never been in any kind of civil employment.

As has been seen, Cleveland went into official life when he was only twenty-six years old. The District Attorneyship of a large city is an admirable school for a public man, and gives a wide experience of men and life. He was afterwards, for

three years, the Sheriff of the county, and, on the 1st of January next, he will have had three years' experience in high executive office. The two years in the Governorship has been a period of severe labor. The subjects presented to him have been more varied and more perplexing than most matters upon which a President has to act. He has had the anomalous power of vetoing items in appropriation bills. He has thus been a part of the Legislature, and has been called upon to consider the propriety of measures before they were introduced.

The Legislature of New York deals with a greater variety of interests, and with more complicated topics than Congress. It regulates all the concerns of a community more populous and far more wealthy than England in the reign of Elizabeth. The laws passed at Albany are more than double the volume of those passed in Washington. But in Washington, legislation is more carefully done. The work of committees is more thorough. The New York Legislature sits but four days in a week, while Congress quite generally sits every week day. The President is never perplexed by imperfect measures. No one can recall an instance in which he has returned a bill with suggestions for its correction and amendment, while, as has been seen, this is a frequent occurrence at Albany. The President has more time for deliberation than the Governor, for the

bills which are presented to him are few in number, and he is never thrown under the stress of four or five hundred bills, precipitated upon him at once, and to be disposed of in thirty days, as is always the case at the close of the Session at Albany. Besides, the President has the assistance of a Cabinet, which he may choose from the most experienced and eminent men in the country. The Governor has no such assistance. The heads of departments in Albany are in no sense his adjutants. They are often of different politics, and, during Governor Cleveland's first year, all of the State offices, save one, were filled by Republicans. The opinion is here deliberately expressed, that two years in the Governorship are, to say the least, quite equal, as a school of Statesmanship, to the same time in the Presidency. Would any one doubt, that a man who had served two years as President, as acceptably as Mr. Cleveland has as Governor, would be a fit Presidential candidate?

The qualifications of a public man are not necessarily, nor often, proportioned to the length of his official career. The history of the United States and England is full of examples of men who have passed long lives in office and in useful and honorable service, but who never became fitted for the highest employments. A statesman must be judged by what he has done, not by the length of his service. Judged by this test, can there be a

doubt that Mr. Cleveland will meet the requirements of the Presidency? The most essential of those requirements are qualities of character and not intellectual ones. A President should have courage, integrity, firmness and self-reliance. Governor Cleveland has shown all these traits in more than one conspicuous instance.

At the present time it is of special importance that a Democratic President should have a certain independence of party. The election of a Democrat can only be brought about by a great change in the public opinion of the Northern States. Thousands of Republicans must become willing to vote for a Democrat. It is not likely that they will be willing to vote for one who is, in the strictest sense, a partisan, and who will go into office with violent partisan feelings and purposes. This last qualification Governor Cleveland certainly possesses. He has clearly shown that he knows where the line is which separates duty to country from duty to party, and he has never failed to rise to the higher level when the occasion called him there.

At the same time, no one can well administer the affairs of our Government without the assistance of a party organization. It is through parties that men come to an agreement as to policies, through them they announce their principles and their intentions. A neglect of party obligations would therefore be the betrayal of a trust. These

obligations should rest with special force upon the conscience of a Chief Magistrate who stands before the world, the incarnation of his country's honor, and whose betrayal of his party's trust would sap the foundations of the State, and set up an evil example to the world.

Grover Cleveland has been a steadfast Democrat. He has shared all the fortunes of his party, and has always been found under its standard, whether the hour was one of victory or defeat. His administration will be Democratic in form and in substance.

To these qualifications he adds a steady, substantial and vigorous mind. He expresses himself in nervous and intelligible terms. All his utterances can be understood by plain unlettered people. He takes a firm hold of every subject which comes before him, and looks at it from every side, until he understands it completely. He is ready to take advice, and often asks for it, but he makes up his own mind, and then acts not only with courage, but without misgiving.

He is a genuine American—the product of our own soil and institutions. He has never been even a visitor to foreign countries. In his veins flows the blood of Englishmen, of Irishmen, and of Germans. These are the races who have peopled the United States and made them great. He represents them all. He has a strong man's love for the land where he was born, and in which

his parents are buried. His kindred have lived here many generations; they have been soldiers, and farmers and mechanics, and preachers of the Gospel. His ancestry is the best that can be found, an ancestry of frugal, laborious and patriotic men and women.

The writer of these pages has known Grover Cleveland well ever since he came to Buffalo, knows all the main events of his life, and all the features of his mind and character, and has no doubt that, if elected to the Presidency, he will fill the office honorably, and most usefully to his country.

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

OF

THOMAS A. HENDRICKS,

NOMINEE FOR THE VICE-PRESIDENCY OF THE UNITED STATES.

BY

W. U. HENSEL.

"He is a good Democrat; a reputable man."—*New York Times, Rep.*

"Since the war commenced I have uniformly said that the authority of the Government of the United States is not questioned in Indiana, and that I regarded it as the duty of the citizens of Indiana to respect and maintain that authority, and to give the Government an honest and earnest support in the prosecution of the war, until, in the providence of God, it may be brought to an honorable conclusion and the blessings of peace restored to our country, postponing until that time all controversy in relation to the causes and responsibilities of the war. No man will feel a deeper solicitude in the welfare and proud bearing of Indiana's soldiery, in the conflict of arms to which they are called, than myself."—*Thomas A. Hendricks, April 24th, 1861.*

"An honest jurist, an able and incorruptible statesman, and a wise politician." "His record as Senator, Representative, Commissioner, and State Legislator is pure and untarnished."—*New York Tribune, July 22d, 1872.*

"We need to have the books in the Government offices opened for examination."—*Thomas A. Hendricks, July 12th, 1884.*

CHAPTER I.

THE OFFICE OF VICE-PRESIDENT.

"Gentlemen, I do not know whether the framers of the Constitution had in view the two Kings of Sparta, the two Consuls of Rome, or the two Suffetes of Carthage when they formed it—the one to have all the power while he held it, and the other to be nothing. Gentlemen, I feel great difficulty how to act. I am possessed of two separate powers—the one *in esse*, the other *in posse*. I am Vice-President. In this I am nothing, but I may be everything. But I am President also of the Senate. When the President comes into the Senate what shall I be? I wish, gentlemen, to think what I shall be."—*John Adams, First Vice-President, to the Senate.*

THERE have been Vice-Presidents and Vice-Presidents. John Adams held second place to Washington and succeeded him in the Executive Chair. Thomas Jefferson followed Adams' succession. Aaron Burr's treacherous abuse of the generous confidence which made him the choice of Jefferson's friends for the Vice-Presidency did not secure for him the end of his ambition; neither could it be punished by his exclusion from the next place of prominence in the Federal Government. But it led to that change of the fundamental law which, in the enactment and adoption of the Twelfth Amendment, empowered the electors to choose directly the Vice-President instead of bestowing that office upon the second highest candidate for President. The differences arising out of the bitter quarrel

that ensued between Burr and the Jeffersonians were the beginning of that downward career which culminated in Burr's crime and ended in his poverty, neglect, and death. Under Jefferson's second Administration and the first of Madison's terms, George Clinton brought to the Vice-Presidency an honored name, worth and fit dignity; Elbridge Gerry, elected Vice-President to Madison, died suddenly in the second year of his term; Daniel D. Tompkins, who went into office and out of it with Monroe, in the uneventful era of good feeling, was a more conspicuous statesman before than after he became Vice-President; John C. Calhoun, previously distinguished as a Representative and by brilliant cabinet service, became Vice-President by the mutual consent of the fierce Adams and Jackson factions in the electoral struggle of 1824, but differed almost throughout his Administration from the President, and was an active party to the combination which defeated him. Personal and political alienation and a revival of the old troubles between Monroe's War Secretary and the chief captain of the Seminole War soon produced a far more violent rupture between Jackson and Calhoun than had ever occurred between Adams and Calhoun, ensuing in the latter's antagonism of Van Buren, followed with Van Buren's own political ascendency, first as Vice-President, then as President, to be followed with his defeat, even after Calhoun had become

reconciled to his support. Richard M. Johnson, the Van Buren candidate for Vice-President, failed of election in the Electoral College, but was chosen by the House. It was not until 1841 that John Tyler realized to the country the importance of the Vice-Presidential succession, and by his estrangement from the party which had made Harrison President taught the politicians that they had not, by the policy pursued in the selections they made for Vice-President, avoided the dangers which it had been sought to obviate by the constitutional amendment of 1803.

Since then it has happened, within a period no longer than the space of a generation, that three Vice-Presidents have succeeded to vacancies caused by death, and none of them has attained, by election, the office to which he came by accident, though all aspired to it. Fillmore was chosen Vice-President by the same electors who made Taylor President, but his signature to the Fugitive Slave Law, approved by a vote of 227 to 60, in the next National Convention of his party, lost him a renomination. William R. King's long career of usefulness and distinction was crowned with election to the Vice-Presidency; and a graceful grant by Congress gave him permission to take the oath of office in Cuba, where, on March 4th, 1853, he was sojourning for his health.

John C. Breckenridge's name was a fit one to be associated with any Democratic candidate and to

be honored by election in 1856. He was the nominee of one wing of his party, in its fatal dissensions of 1860, for the highest place. Hamlin's defeat for renomination, in 1864, was due to a spirit of concession to the Southern Loyalists, and resulted in the Johnson succession to the murdered Lincoln, with all the train of political complications that followed. Colfax's defeat for renomination as Vice-President with Grant is ascribed to the hostility of the newspaper correspondents, whose righteous wrath he had provoked. Mr. Wheeler "glided through the official routine" of Hayes' term, to be submerged by the obscurity which has settled upon the whole of that Administration; while Arthur has shared the fate of Fillmore—in seeing his policy almost unanimously indorsed by his party and himself rejected.

I have thought it wise, for reasons which may or may not be obvious, to preface the biographical sketch of the Democratic nominee for Vice-President of 1884 with this brief review of those who have been chosen to the place, their relations with their Presidents and to their parties, and especially to note the peculiar tendency of parties at all times to balance their tickets by selecting candidates for second place upon such considerations as would almost certainly foreshadow a departure of administration in the event of their constitutional succession during the term for which the President had been chosen.

Despite the fact that in the present event Mr. Hendricks, without any forethought and certainly by no action of his own, was at one time during the proceedings of the Convention which nominated Mr. Cleveland his principal competitor in the balloting for first place, his nomination to the second was effected by widely different influences, and was directed by other considerations than those which have so often produced the fateful results of party dissensions following Vice-Presidential successions.

In tracing, however briefly, his career, his private character and his public life, his steady progress in popular affection and esteem, his unexampled continuance of leadership in one of the great parties of a great State—alternating control of it—his course as Senator and Governor, at all times a faithful representative of the people and a conservator of sound public interests, I hope to be able to demonstrate the propriety and fitness and wisdom of his nomination, and to present an example of integrity of conduct and purity of character and sound judgment to those who believe these qualities are essential to the administrators of government, and to show to the aspiring youth of the country that in the end it is the genius of common sense which conquers and converts obstacle into opportunity.

CHAPTER II.

ANCESTRY AND EARLY LIFE.

IN the settlement of Pennsylvania, where were nourished the springs which fed streams of emigration and pioneer enterprise reaching to every part of the West, Northwest, and South there were no better strains of blood than the Irish and Scotch, or that in which these commingled and which came to be called—not without dispute as to the propriety of it—"Scotch-Irish." The people thus called had above all things "grit," and they displayed it in social life, in religion and politics, in war and council; they bred men and women of full stature; they built churches and colleges; they were true to their homes and hospitable to the stranger; they educated their children; they were patriots and politicians; they could fight and pray. The more thrifty and cautious German often succeeded to their inheritance of the soil, but they left the imperishable stamp of their individuality wherever they settled, and they wrote their names with steel and flint on the records of the time.

Out in the Ligonier Valley, Westmoreland County, Western Pennsylvania, there is a stream called "Hendricks' Run," which flows into the Conemaugh; thence its waters reach the Alle-

gheny, and finally find their way to the Gulf. To one of the water powers of that brook, which murmured

> "Under moon and stars
> In brambly wildernesses,"

the ancestors of Thomas A. Hendricks chained their wheel more than a century ago, and their name abides with the stream while men come and go. On the father's side his people were from the North of Ireland. Four years before the Colonies had sworn to be free, the Thomson family, of pure Scotch blood, settled in the Cumberland Valley, Pennsylvania, near Shippensburg, in Cumberland County, whence John Thomson sent back to Scotland that famous address setting forth the advantages of climate, soil, and opportunities in the New World which brought so many of his countrymen hither, to heavily tax but never exhaust his hospitality. Of that family was Alexander Thomson, a jurist of renown, President Judge of the Franklin-Somerset-Fulton-Bedford district, in which office he preceded Judge Black, and after his retirement from it his library became the law school of Marshall College, an honored seat of learning then at Mercersburg, a dozen miles or more from Chambersburg, Franklin County, where he lived. A son of that Judge Thomson, Vice-President Frank Thomson, of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, illustrates in the management of that vast corporation his ancestral energy and enterprise. Of the

Hendricks family, Abraham, grandfather of the subject of this sketch served in various public offices and as a member of the Legislature of Pennsylvania 1792–3; 1793–4; 1796–7; 1797–8, a time when the "*per diem*" and mileage attaching to such service did not outweigh the dignity of popular representation nor influence the duration of legislative sessions.

Jane Thomson, sister of Judge T., and John Hendricks, father of Thomas A., met at the residence of Rev. Dr. Black, in Pittsburg, father of the late Colonel Samuel Black, deceased, and from that meeting and the resulting intimacy, which ripened into love and had its fruition in marriage, sprang a relationship which connects the names of Hendricks, Thomson, Wylie, Black, Agnew, and many others distinguished in the annals of Western Pennsylvania; though from almost the date of this marriage the history of this branch of the Hendricks family is lost to that State. William Hendricks, an elder brother of John, had already pushed westward to Cincinnati, where he successfully engaged in the practice of law; thence he removed to Indiana and became the second Governor of that State after its constitutional organization. Prior to that he had been Representative in Congress, and subsequently was United States Senator. One of the counties of the commonwealth in which he so early took conspicuous part bears his name, and his public services are an

honorable part of the history of his State. His brother John and his bride, with her niece, followed his track, settling first near Zanesville, in Muskingum County, Ohio, where Thomas A. Hendricks, their eldest born, first saw the light, September 7th, 1819, sixteen years after the admission of Ohio into the Union, and when the State of Indiana was not yet three years old. The father tarried not long there, but pushing farther westward, settled the next spring after his son's birth near Madison, then the chief city of Indiana, and the home of his brother William. Two years later he located a farm, which afterward became part of the site of Shelbyville, the county seat of Shelby County, a region of level surface and fertile soil.

John Hendricks was a tanner as well as a farmer, in a day when distinctions of vocation were not so well marked as now; but more from force of character, culture, and commanding intellect, than from eminence of occupation, he was the foremost citizen of his community. He was deputy surveyor of lands under Jackson and ran the first lines around his own preemption. There, on the bluffs of the Blue River Valley, east of and adjacent to what is now Shelbyville, he built his frontier home of hewn logs, a mansion in its day, dedicated from the laying of the foundation wall to social cheer and hospitality. This early structure is still standing on the "Michigan road turnpike," its front looking westward across the beau-

tiful valley. Subsequently, he erected a more commodious dwelling, this time a story and a half brick building, a little north of the site of the other, and for the transportation of material to this young Tom drove the oxen. The lad had no experience in the tan yard, his father having early abandoned that business, but led the life of a farmer's boy, first attending a winter school taught by Mrs. Kent, and working in the summer.

John Hendricks subsequently built himself a spacious dwelling in the town of Shelbyville, where he ended his days. But wherever his home was, it was the abode of domestic happiness, refinement, and warm-hearted entertainment of neighbor and stranger. He himself was not only a man of striking personal presence and vigorous physique, but of unusual natural intelligence and accomplishments. But the presiding genius of that home was the gentle wife and mother, "who tempered the atmosphere of learning and zeal with the sweet influences of charity and love. Essentially clever and persistent, she was possessed of a rare quality of patience, which stood her in better stead than a turbulent, aggressive spirit." It only needed this complement of her husband's good qualities to make a complete conjugal union and to found a homestead of delight. Theirs was the leading family of the community. Born to the religious faith of the Covenanter, she mellowed it to the stern enough Presbyterian creed of her husband,

and their house was a landmark of the scattered Calvinists in that sparsely settled region. Its doors stood wide open alike to the Methodist circuit-rider and to the man of God who came with cowl and crucifix. No wayfarer was denied shelter there, and the vagrant went not from that threshold unfed nor turned cheerless from the gate. The spirit of levity was not excluded from the portals of the Hendricks home, and during "court week" judges and lawyers made regular visitations there.

Few of the great men of our land, of such recent development, have not had the valuable experience of early life in the country. One of his boyhood rural recollections served Mr. Hendricks admirably on an occasion a few years ago, and was the subject of a most felicitous public address. During the meeting of the Millers' National Association, in 1878, the members were given an excursion over the "Belt" Railroad on May 30th. Being appointed to welcome them to a public dinner in Indianapolis, Governor Hendricks in the course of his address spoke as follows:

"Indianapolis is a city of no mean pretensions in her manufacturing enterprise, and she is surrounded upon every side with uncommonly rich lands that are now rapidly coming under superior cultivation. And so, if the investigations and deliberations of your Society shall result in obtaining

from every bushel of grain an increased amount of food for man, and of such superior quality as to make its way into the markets of the world, you are entitled from us to the benediction which Dean Swift bestowed upon the good citizen who 'could make two ears of corn or two blades of grass to grow upon a spot of ground where only one grew before.'

"You have come here from many localities and from many different sections, and were strangers to us when you came; but we do not feel it so now. Indeed, I could not at any time realize that you were strangers. As a boy, I was acquainted with the miller, and I thought him a great man. When he raised the gate with such composure and confidence, and the tumbling waters drove the machinery ahead, I admired his power. And then he talked strongly upon all questions. He was very positive upon politics, religion, law, and mechanics. Any one bold enough to dispute a point was very likely to have a personal argument thrown into his face, for he knew all the gossip among his customers. He was cheerful. I thought it was because he was always in the music of the running water and the whirling wheels. He was kind and clever, indeed, so much so that he would promise the grists before they could be ready, and so the boys had to go two or three times. He was a chancellor and prescribed the law, every one in his turn.

"That miller, standing in the door of his mill, all white with dust, is a picture even upon the memory of this generation. It is the picture of a manly figure. I wonder if you, gentlemen, the lords of many runs and bolts, are ashamed to own him as your predecessor? It was a small mill, sometimes upon 'a willowy brook,' and sometimes upon the larger river, but it stood upon the advance line of the settlements. With its one wheel to grind the Indian corn and one for wheat, and in the fall and winter season one day in the week set aside for grinding buckwheat, it did the work for the neighborhood. Plain and unpretentious as compared with your stately structures, I would not say that it contributed less toward the development of the country and the permanent establishment of society. So great a favorite was it, and so important to the public welfare, that the authorities in that day invoked in its favor the highest power of the State, that of eminent domain. That mill and miller had to go before you and yours, and I am happy to revive the memory of the miller at the custom mill, who with equal care adjusted the sack upon the horse for the boy to ride upon, and his logic in support of his theory in politics or his dogma in religion.

"It was always an interesting story, and one of which you are proud, that in a period when the rich and strong were able to corrupt the juries of

England; Sir Mathew Hale, the Chief Justice, threw off the robes of his office and assumed the garb of a miller and found his way into the jury-box, and thereby drove out corruption and restored honesty and virtue.

"We have now reached the period when the little mill and the simple machinery of a former day are insufficient, when success and advancement require capital, improved machinery, and skilled labor. All the interests and pursuits of society welcome you. You give good food to all. You give employment to the laborer and artisan in the shop, and your success is heard in

'The reapers' song among the sheaves.'"

When Mr. Hendricks, a few years ago, visited the place where his ancestors dwelt in the Ligonier Valley, of Western Pennsylvania, he eagerly sought out the site of their mill.

In the early history of Pennsylvania the name of Hendricks frequently occurs in the records of its pioneer settlements. In 1749, Tobias Hendricks was Collector of Taxes for East Pennsboro' Township, Cumberland County, Pa. The next year, 1750, his name appears on the list of taxables for that township, and Abraham Hendricks' name appears on the list of "freemen." There were Hendrickses among the Scotch-Irish settlers of Donegal Township, Lancaster County, Pa., about 1722. After the Cumberland Valley was opened for settlement, on the extinguishment of the Indian title in 1736,

many of the Scotch-Irish crossed the Susquehanna and made homes in the "Great Valley." In a petition of the valley inhabitants, relative to troubles with the Indians, dated July 15th, 1754, addressed to the Governor and Council, Tobias Hendricks' name is appended. It also appears on another petition dated August 28th, 1756. The Indian purchase of 1768 opened the lands of the province west of the Allegheny Mountains for settlement the next year, and many of the Scotch-Irish flocked thither from the eastern counties. That territory was then in Cumberland, but fell into Bedford County on its erection in 1771, and into Westmoreland two years later. Warrants for land in Westmoreland County were granted as follows: Thomas Hendricks, December 20th, 1786; Abraham Hendricks, January 18th, 1793; Abraham Hendricks, January 9th, 1794.

CHAPTER III.

THE EDUCATION OF THE LAD.

WITH his brothers and sister, young Tom Hendricks attended the village schools, from which his brother Abram passed to the University of Ohio, became a Presbyterian minister in the West, and is now deceased. Subsequently a neighbor, John Robinson, living some six miles distant, secured an Eastern instructor to prepare his own boys for college, and extended the advantages of the school to young Hendricks and other neighbor boys. They embraced the opportunity and boarded at Mr. Robinson's, until, one day, the teacher left suddenly. The boys walked to Shelbyville, and the school was broken up. Meantime, Thomas Hendricks developed more aptitude for books than for woodcraft or the labors of the farm, and his tastes were not discouraged by either of his parents. The influence of his father's character and the associations of his home made their inevitable impression upon him; but the gentleness of his mother's disposition, her law of love, and all the gracious power of a noble, Christian womanhood, guided and nurtured him to the development of a character which he has never lost, and he never ceases to be

grateful for his mother's influence. For whatever exemption he has enjoyed from the infirmities and vices too frequent among public men, and for the unwavering exercise of those fireside virtues which most exalt the popular representative, he never ceases to give thanks to the purity and tenderness of maternal love and care, which, after sixty years, bloom with perennial freshness and fragrance.

During his residence at the Robinson school one of his earliest political impressions was formed. His father, though a Democrat at that time, was not a violent partisan. The school-boys attended a political meeting at St. Omer, two miles off, and heard John Dumont, the Whig candidate for Governor against Wallace, make his argument, on questions purely of State policies, for a classification of the public works, of which the State at that time, as subsequent events unmistakably proved, was carrying too great a load. Dumont's logic and power captured and converted all his young Democratic hearers to his support.

Previous to this, however, young Hendricks had been made secure in his Democratic loyalty in national politics by the circumstance of seeing a huge pole erected in Shelbyville, by the Hickory Democrats, with a new broom at the top of it. Upon inquiry he was told that this signified the determination of Jackson to sweep all the corruption out of the governmental departments. He

was struck with the idea, and never abandoned the purpose to "turn the rascals out."

To complete his classical education the youth was sent to Hanover College. It was located on the Ohio River, near Madison, and seventy miles south of Shelbyville. It was a Presbyterian institution, and the president was Dr. McMaster, brother of James McMaster, now editor of the *Freeman's Journal*, New York. He was a remarkable man, six feet in stature, beardless, with a gentle voice and great ability. More than half the students were from the South. Of his classmates it is difficult to keep track; but several years ago, when Mr. Hendricks went back to his *alma mater* to make a literary address, he chose to illustrate the relations of college life with the duties and chances of the great world beyond by tracing the prospects, fates, and fortunes of three of his fellow-students. The extremes that they presented and the moral of the lesson may be gathered from the fact that a few years ago Mr. Hendricks, traveling among the foothills of California, came across one of the most brilliant geniuses of the old college days—a self-abandoned drunkard and social outcast—while another probably of less early promise—is now a brilliant and distinguished member of the Chicago Bar.*

* John Lyle King, Esq.

CHAPTER IV.

AT THE BAR.

MR. HENDRICKS' chosen profession was the law, and he has never abandoned it. Leaving Hanover College in 1841, he entered upon his professional studies with the late Judge Major, deceased, who then was a leading lawyer of Shelbyville, and subsequently removed to Indianapolis and acquired wider distinction. The advantages of the law school conducted in his uncle's office in Chambersburg, however, and the desire to visit the East, induced him to become a student and member of the family of Judge Thomson. With an outfit of two hundred dollars in silver, he took the steamer Lawrenceburg up the Ohio, stopping off at Cincinnati, where, for the first time, he visited a theatre, and saw Edward S. Connor in the drama. The mountains of Western Pennsylvania, to the lad who had grown up on the Indiana prairies, were objects of supreme wonder, and the scenery as well as the associations of his ancestors' home in the Ligonier Valley inspired him with love for the State which had cradled the men and women from whom he sprang. During the spring and summer and part of the fall of 1843 he was the

guest and student of Judge Alexander Thomson, to whose instruction and example he owed much of his professional training, and before returning to the West he paid a week's visit to Philadelphia, the recollection of which is one of the most pleasant memories of his life. Girard College claimed his attention for an entire day, the munificent plan of the institution and the architectural features of the structure making deep impression upon him. With one dollar and twenty-five cents of his store of silver in his pocket, he returned to Indiana one week too late for the regular fall examinations for admission to the Supreme Court, and was tested in a special examination by the Circuit Judges, among whom were such celebrities as Whitcomb, Howard, and Wright. He was easily admitted to full practice, and for some years following his career was that of the ordinary fledgeling barrister in a country town. He was diligent, upright, suave and popular, and these qualities made moderate success sure; signal triumphs were rarely to be won in that limited sphere. His practice was miscellaneous; inclination and circumstances usually directed him in criminal cases to the side of the defense. Twice he volunteered for the prosecution.

On one occasion, while on his way to the courthouse, he was appealed to by a negro who was fleeing from a rough fellow's assault. The ruffian came up and boasted that he would "teach the

d—d nigger" to speak to him. Mr. Hendricks calmly inquired if that was the colored man's sole offense. Upon being so assured, he told the assailant that he would teach him a lesson. He had an indictment framed, bill found, conducted the prosecution, and in two hours had the rough sent to jail. That was the first person up to that time imprisoned in Shelby County for assault and battery. In those early days one dollar fine was considered fair punishment for such an offense. The injured was expected to get redress without resort to law. In his address to the jury, Mr. Hendricks had argued that the inferior social position of the negro in that day made the assault upon him more reprehensible; it was as though a man with his hands tied had been set upon.

Again, a prominent man in the community, owning a fine farm and of eminent social position, was charged with, and was manifestly guilty of, concealing stolen horses and produce for a robber gang who plundered the neighborhood. When fears were expressed that his influence would defeat the law, young Hendricks volunteered to prosecute him, and did it so successfully that he was sent to the penitentiary, though released by the higher court on a technicality.

The story told of his first-earned fee is that Major Powell and Major Hendricks were neighbors and leading men of their day. Nathan, a son of the former, and Thomas, son of the

latter, grew up together, finished their education about the same time, and opened their law offices within a few days of each other. Soon after hanging out their shingles, a petty case was to be tried before Esquire Lee, and the young attorneys volunteered to appear in it—one on either side. When the trial came off the 'Squire's office was filled with the friends of the young barristers, anxious to hear their maiden speeches. A lot of apples were procured and held ready to be given him who won the case. Hendricks won it and received the apples, which he generously divided among his friends.

He had been at the bar only four years when his political career began with election to the Legislature, and for thirty-six years he has been active and conspicuous in Indiana politics, never losing his influence nor forfeiting the confidence of his constituents, and gradually coming to fill a larger place in the view of the country at large. During this time he has not only at no time abandoned his profession, but has steadily developed and strengthened in it, and reached his pre-eminence as a lawyer after he had been elected to the office of Vice-President in 1876—and defrauded out of it by the electoral juggle of 1877. His idea of the relation of politics to the legal profession was expressed upon one occasion at the University of Michigan. Visiting Ann Arbor to deliver his lecture on "Revolution," he was

accorded a grand reception by the students, and next morning made an address to the pupils of the law school, in which he declared that his success as a lawyer had always been his greatest pride, and further he said: "The law teaches the highest morality. The lawyer must be a man of honor, truthful alike in the office and court-room. The highest morality taught, except, perhaps, from religious sources, is derived from our courts of chancery, and the true lawyer is a democratic element in society. He takes the poor man into his protection, and makes him equal with the rich man who is fighting against him in court. He upholds the weak man against the strong. The legal profession prepares one for every sphere of life." He advised the law students to go into politics, but if successful not to stay too long—to learn public life and then return to their profession.

After his term of service in Congress, and when he had returned to the practice of the law, he accepted the unexpected appointment by President Pierce to be Commissioner of the General U. S. Land Office, only because after consultation with his father it was determined that the official experience might be of value in enlarging his knowledge of the land law, then such an important feature of Western practice.

With a keen, natural aptitude for the law, and acute perceptions of it, well grounded in the fund-

amental principles, and with an earnest, logical cast of mind, Mr. Hendricks has been so frequently withdrawn from legal practice to public duties that he has been more distinguished in politics than in law; but his natural fitness and extraordinary readiness have served him so well that, with all interruptions, he has held with facility his place in the front rank of lawyers in his State and scored many brilliant triumphs before bench and jury. Removing from Shelbyville to Indianapolis, the commercial, political, and geographical capital of the State, in December, 1860, he has there continued in active practice ever since, save during the four years that he was Governor, when he entirely withdrew from practice. His first legal partnership was with Oscar B. Hord, ex-Attorney-General, who is still associated with him, and his cousin, Abraham W. Hendricks. The firm of Hendricks & Hord, which lost one member by Thomas A. Hendricks' inauguration as Governor in 1872, gained another by the admission of the retiring Governor, Conrad Baker, on the same day. Four years before, Mr. Baker had beaten Mr. Hendricks for Governor by a slender and almost questionable majority after an exciting canvass, but their personal relations were such that the law partnership, readjusted after the expiration of Governor Hendricks' term, included them both, and so continues.

Their practice is of a general commercial

character, and during recent years has covered many of the leading Indiana cases, including the famous C., C. and I. C. Railway case, when Governor Hoadley, Justice Stanley Matthews, and ex-Senator McDonald were the array of opposing counsel. Mr. Hendricks is wise in consultation and weighty in advice, but his popular reputation as a lawyer has been won by his ready handling of many exciting trials in court.

One of his most celebrated efforts was his successful defense of Jay Voss, of Indianapolis, who found a negro in his father's house under circumstances justifying the belief that he contemplated a felonious assault upon a female domestic, and took the negro into custody. The prisoner broke from his captor and was shot and killed. By a speech of great power and subtle reasoning Mr. Hendricks acquitted Voss.

George Harding, the brilliant newspaper wit, tried for assault with intent to kill, was the subject of another of Mr. Hendricks' most eloquent and successful efforts for the defense. In the case of Miller, one of the embezzling officers of the First National Bank, of Indianapolis, arraigned before Judge Blodgett in the United States Circuit Court, Mr. Hendricks was subjected to a most severe test by the Court suddenly interrupting his impassioned argument of fact with a broad intimation that he would decide the law of the case squarely against his client, the defendant. Though

totally unprepared for such a dangerous emergency, the quick counsel framed on the instant a plan of legal argument which, though apparently aimed at a court committed against it, was really directed with such impassioned energy, vehement legal logic, and forensic eloquence to the jury that they overrode the Judge's instructions and acquitted the defendant. The scene is described by those who witnessed it as having been a most remarkable one, and an eminent lawyer who was witness to the fortitude, the address, and the strategic skill with which Mr. Hendricks met the crisis says "It was the test of a great man."

Mr. Hendricks, while he has accurate and acute legal perceptions, is not a technical lawyer; he is not a specialist, but has the average qualities of a great lawyer in eminent degree, and, as has been well said, "In the readiness with which he gathers up and gets well in hand the questions both of law and of fact in any case in which he is engaged, no advocate in the country excels him and very few equal him." His standing at the bar is clearly recognized throughout the West, and when, at the banquet to Chief Justice Coleridge, in Chicago, he responded to the toast, "A common system of jurisprudence must cement national friendship," his scholarly and original treatment of the theme was no surprise to his compeers in the legal profession.

CHAPTER V.

AN EARLY POLITICAL CAREER.

MR. HENDRICKS has ascended to his present political eminence by the gradual stages which have marked the course of the most useful and most illustrious statesmen of the country. No sudden accident gave him popularity or official position; no adventitious circumstances promoted him to high station; no "bonanza" mine has furnished the resources of his political strength, and no corporate power sent him as its attorney into the halls of the State or Federal Legislature. In tracing his political career, the several features of it which bring themselves into prominence are the practically unanimous assent of his party to every nomination which he has received since his first candidacy for Congress, the willingness with which he has yielded at all times to the wishes of his party and the public when fairly expressed, the candor of his relations with his party, the freedom from factious contentions of his position in the organization, and his consistent and unwavering devotion to principle; which, together with no small degree of political astuteness, have enabled him to maintain an unchallenged leadership of his party in his

State for a longer period than any other man in American politics ever held such control.

Born of a family that cherished strong political convictions, and sprung from a race which never failed to bear its part in public affairs, during the Polk-Clay campaign he took an active part on the stump, and in 1848 was nominated by the Democrats of his county for its representative in the Assembly. His foremost competitor and most frequent antagonist of the local bar, Martin M. Ray, was the candidate of the Whigs for Senator, and they stumped the county together, "two moneyless and almost clientless barristers," says a contemporary, with not strict accuracy, "trying to disagree upon the subject of State banks."

His immediate opponent for the Legislature, however, whom he encountered in joint debate, after the fashion of that day, was Captain Nathan Earlywine, and their discussion on Flat Rock is to this day a vivid tradition of the community. In his speech, from a high bluff along the river, Earlywine charged the Democrats with bringing on the Mexican War, and alleged that some time before Hendricks in a private conversation had admitted this, but boasted that he intended to shift the responsibility from the Democrats to the Whigs. Hendricks, standing some distance down the bank, caught the speaker's words and shouted out, "You know that's a lie." For a time a sudden and rather violent termination of the meeting

was threatened, but when Mr. Hendricks got upon the stump he so far justified his declaration that even his opponents gave him their attention and respect. It was a close fight over the thirteen townships of the county, but Hendricks ran ahead of his ticket and was elected.

Of this same Earlywine, with whom Hendricks was ordinarily on the best of terms, the story is related that, being appointed to make the village Fourth of July oration soon after Hendricks had been admitted to the bar, he went to the latter to borrow from him the manuscript of an oration which Hendricks had made at a barbecue, the year before, in "Johnny Young's Grove." He desired, likewise, to have it adapted to later times by the addition of some reference to the pending Oregon question. Hendricks, knowing him to be a violent Whig, though not very acute in his distinction of political principles, played a trick upon him by inserting in his speech this valiant Democratic sentiment: "If any lines are to be drawn across the map of Oregon, *let them be drawn in blood.*" Earlywine delivered the speech with explosive eloquence, but the Democrats present were equally astonished and amused at his patriotic sentiments on the Oregon question.

In the Legislature, as a member of the Committee on Banks, he opposed the extension of the State Bank's branches with ability, and as the result of a careful study of the subject and of pro-

found conviction. The increasing demands of his profession and a disinclination for legislative service prompted him to decline renomination; but in 1850, by the wish of all parties and without opposition, he was chosen a member of the Convention called to amend the original Constitution (1816) of the State. Among the members of the Convention were Robert Dale Owen, Judges Pettit and Biddle, his seniors; W. S. Holman and Schuyler Colfax, who were younger than Hendricks. That body was not organized nor divided upon party lines. Mr. Hendricks was on the Banking and Judiciary Committees, and his close attention to responsible duties and his successful disputations with men of greater fame gave him a reputation that made him a prominent candidate for the Congressional nomination in his district. It was composed of all the counties between Brown and Tipton, Madison and Hendricks, and being strongly Democratic, nearly every county had a candidate, and one of them presented six. On the fifty-third ballot Hendricks was chosen—and this was the last time in his public career that any nomination conferred upon him was seriously contested. His election followed the Democratic nomination by a majority of more than three thousand over his opponent, Colonel Rush, of Hancock.

CHAPTER VI.

TWO TERMS IN CONGRESS.

THE first term in Congress is usually an uneventful one to the new member, but Mr. Hendricks made himself popular with his associates and proved attentive to his constituents. He was renominated, as a matter of course, in a re-apportioned district of six counties, and his second campaign (made the next year, under the new Constitution) involved a famous joint discussion with his opponent, named Bradley. The latter had spoken thirteen times in Shelby County, and Hendricks had engagement to make but one speech on the familiar ground, Flat Rock, on the forenoon of the day before election. There he was met with the news that Bradley had invaded Shelbyville and was posted to speak there that afternoon, to the great terror of the Democrats. After his speech at Flat Rock, Hendricks hastened to engage the adversary, and, like Sheridan on his way to Winchester, the first that he saw

"Were the groups of stragglers, and then the retreating troops."

His affrighted friends had actually gone out to meet him and to tell him that "Bradley had come," though no joint discussion had been arranged. The Whigs were correspondingly elated. After eat-

ing his dinner, Mr. Hendricks proceeded to the meeting where his antagonist was savagely assaulting his votes in Congress on the river and harbor bill and on the division of the public lands. Just as he discovered Mr. Hendricks, he declared with violence that some one had reported that he was an Abolitionist, and, looking straight at Hendricks, he pronounced the author of the charge to be a "liar." Every eye was turned to the newcomer, and the Whigs were charmed, delighted, and fairly intoxicated with the aggressive attitude of their candidate.

Biding his time, and undaunted by the prevailing sympathy with his opponent, Mr. Hendricks took the platform. For once he played the braggart; it was the only time he was ever known to take off his coat in a public political debate, and, departing from his wonted custom to appeal only to the higher instincts and cooler judgment of his audience, he rivaled his opponent in skillfully playing upon their feelings. He defended his course in the matters upon which he had been assailed, and fearlessly told his hearers to vote against him if, when he had finished, they were not satisfied with his course. He deliberately took up the issues presented by Bradley, and made the most adroit use of a rather trifling difference which he detected between his veritable record and that which his enemies had circulated by handbill. He appealed to the Western sense of fair

play, and when, after summing up, he asked, "Does anybody now disapprove my vote?" not a man of the thoroughly routed opposition made reply. Bradley left the court-house a beaten man. Almost frantic with rage and disappointment, he mounted a store box on the street, and vainly tried to rally his panic-stricken supporters with incoherent rejoinder. The result was that the ordinary Democratic majority in the county was nearly doubled for Hendricks, and he was returned to Congress by a very decided majority in his district.

During his second term in Congress that body and the whole country were exercised over the passage of the Nebraska-Kansas bill, involving the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. Douglas led the debate in the Senate for the creation of the two Territories, sustained generally by his party, with Seward, Chase, Sumner, and Wade—of whom three lived to be in political accord with Mr. Hendricks—directing the opposition. After an exciting struggle and the memorable passage of the bill at midnight in the Senate, it went to the House. Here another violent struggle ensued, closed by the strategic parliamentary leadership of Alexander H. Stephens, when the bill passed, without amendment, by one hundred and thirteen to one hundred, though Mr. W. H. English—then, as now, a Democrat, who became the nominee of his party for Vice-President in 1880—had offered an amendment

more acceptable to the Whigs, which was cut off by the order of the previous question. Of the votes for the measure, forty-four were contributed by Democrats from the Free States, fifty-seven by Democrats and twelve by Whigs from the Slave States. Of the negative votes there were forty-four Whigs, forty-four Democrats, and three Free Soilers, from the North; two Democrats (counting Colonel Thomas H. Benton) and seven Whigs from the South. Mr. Hendricks voted with the bulk of his party for the measure. Linn Boyd was Speaker of the House during his term of service, and among his most distinguished contemporaries was Hon. Thomas H. Benton, conspicuous for long experience in the Senate, and who separated from his party on the Kansas-Nebraska bill.

It has been repeatedly urged that his vote for this measure was the cause of Hendricks' defeat for re-election, but it was cast strictly in accord with the sentiments of his constituents, who remained throughout the Douglas controversies in the party fast adherents of that popular leader. Upon entering his second term, Mr. Hendricks had avowed his unwillingness to be a candidate the third time, and only the taunts of the opposition and the challenge of those who criticised his course in Congress changed his determination. He was unanimously renominated, and all the elements of opposition combined in support of Lucien Barbour,

who had been a Democrat, and who now rallied to his cause Free-Soilers, Abolitionists, Temperance men, Know-Nothings, Whigs, and every element of opposition which, in those days of piebald politics and Whig disintegration, sprang up to confront and destroy the party in power. None of these was more intense and potential for a brief season than the Know-Nothing party, and as its principles are still cherished by a large portion of the opposition to the Democracy, and as Mr. Hendricks has never modified his convictions upon that subject, an extract from his speech at Shelbyville, in the Congressional canvass of 1854, is illustrative of his opinion on a theme of abiding interest in a land of such composite nationality as ours. On that occasion Mr. Hendricks said:

"When the Democratic Administration of Jefferson came in, liberal laws were enacted, and our young Republic said to the oppressed millions of Europe, 'Come, and cheap lands shall furnish you a home; come, and the flag of the free shall wave over and protect you; come, and just laws shall make you free.' They did come, and with them came the scholar, the artist, the farmer, the mechanic, and the laborer, and they brought no trouble upon our fathers, but much strength, and contributed largely to the development of the country. Our fathers were then only five millions strong, but they were not afraid for their liberties or for their Protestant religion in the adoption of

that policy. Since that day half a century has gone by, and our last census shows us to be a people of twenty-three millions, with a native-born white population of seventeen millions and three-quarters, and a population of foreign birth of only two millions and one-quarter. Our foreign population, animated by a common sentiment of admiration for our institutions, have abandoned the lands of their birth, and with their wives and children have settled down among us, making our fortunes their fortunes, our hopes their hopes, and our destiny their destiny. When have they refused to discharge any duty required by Government? Do they not promptly pay their taxes, diligently labor upon the highways, faithfully serve in our armies, and valiantly fight in defense of our country? It is not true that our liberties or our religion are endangered by the presence of our foreign population. Our fathers intended to secure the liberties of the citizen, that the Church and State should be separate, and that the Church should not control the State, nor the State corrupt the Church. No test can be made by law, whereby one class of men shall be promoted to office and another class deprived of office because of their religion. The Constitution prohibits it for the reason that such a thing ought not to be done."

That wave of political revolution rose beyond the high-water mark of partisan folly in many States, and though it ebbed more swiftly than

even it flowed, the ugly marks of its ascendency were visible for many years, and the debris which floated on its crest is still to be seen scattered here and there in American politics. Mr. Hendricks was submerged by it, and retired from Congress March 5th, 1855, fully intending to resume the assiduous practice of his profession in Shelbyville.

This purpose was interrupted a few months later by the totally unsolicited and unexpected tender from President Pierce, in a personal letter, of the appointment to the office of Commissioner of the General Land Office, in the Department of the Interior, then administered by Secretary Robert M. McClelland, of Michigan—one of the three Cabinet offices ever held by that State. The position was accepted only after much deliberation, and with the view of promoting Mr. Hendricks' knowledge of the land law, as he had resolved to devote his future career to his chosen profession.

Mr. Hendricks continued in this office, at the request of the succeeding Secretary, Jacob Thompson, of President Buchanan's Administration, and remained Commissioner until 1859, when he resigned to resume his law practice. He had brought to the place vast aptitude for the discharge of its duties, and the business and organizing faculty which its proper administration required. During his term and his superintendency of the one hundred and eighty clerks employed,

twenty-two thousand contested cases were settled and over four hundred thousand patents issued. The exercise of his functions was distinguished by careful surveys, early examinations and prompt decision of titles, ready aid to settlers, a recognition of the value to the remaining governmental domain of improvements upon preempted sections, and the assurance to owners under Federal grants of certain and unimpeachable rights. In his general view at that early day, and before the subject had become one of such vital apprehension as it is now, he regarded with most favor the claims of small settlers, and he guarded with jealous care against the absorption of the public domain, the people's inheritance, by grasping monopolies, reckless speculators, greedy corporations, and alien landowners.

His decisions were rarely overruled, and his services to the sections of the country opened up in the days of his administration have been cherished in grateful memory by the people who were benefited. On July 5th, 1865 Senator Hendricks, visiting St. Paul, was tendered a banquet by the Common Council and citizens of that place "in recognition of his good offices toward Minnesota as Commissioner of the General Land Office and as United States Senator." In making a journey to San Francisco in 1869, passing through Omaha he was received with a great popular ovation, and five thousand people gathered in the evening to

honor him and to listen to an oration on the state of the country, in the course of which he applied himself largely to the proper disposal of our public lands, and maintained, as he had always held in his official position, that every advantage in the disposition of them should be given to the private settler.

CHAPTER VII.

DURING THE WAR.

IN the differences of the Democratic party immediately preceding the Presidential struggle of 1860, and which lead to its defeat that year, the overwhelming sentiment of the Indiana Democracy was with Douglas, and Mr. Hendricks sympathized with it. He clearly foresaw the impending consequences of these dissensions, and was not disposed to be a candidate for the Gubernatorial nomination of his party. But circumstances had made him the leader of the Democracy of the State, and with one voice his fellows called upon him to be its standard-bearer in the great contest which opened almost with the year in the State Convention held on Jackson's Day, January 8th, 1860. The defection of Jesse D. Bright, the old-time Democratic leader, aggravated the situation, but thus early Mr. Hendricks had made the resolution which he has ever since adhered to, never to turn a deaf ear to the call of a party which he feels has honored him. He took the nomination and made the fight, leading it not so much for his own sake as for the Douglas electors and the success of the National Democracy in their life-and-death struggle. Henry S. Lane was his opponent

and they canvassed the State in joint debate. The Republican canvass was materially aided by Oliver P. Morton, another recruit from the Democratic ranks, who was the candidate for Lieutenant-Governor, with a good understanding that in the event of Republican success Lane was to be elected to the United States Senate, and Morton would succeed to the Executive chair for nearly a full term. All this was realized in Lane's election by a majority of nine thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven, which the Republicans doubled next month in the Presidential contest. Lane was chosen to the Senate in three days after his inauguration, and Morton entered upon his career as "War Governor," in which office he showed great ability and developed such political resources as made him the unquestioned captain of his party in Indiana while he lived. Between him and Hendricks, as the respective leaders of the organizations thenceforth to be engaged continually in dubious conflict, there was the sharpest contrast of public and private character. Their gladiatorial contests, one campaign after another, made them conspicuous figures before the whole country; the always doubtful issue in their State and the easy command by each of his respective organization kept them in the forefront of popular attention, and Indiana was proud of both. Morton's statue in bronze ornaments the "Circle" Square in Indianapolis; Mr. Hendricks lives in that city, com-

manding the universal respect of his fellow-citizens who await higher honors for him, but need no further formal distinction to signalize their appreciation of his public services and personal worth.

After his defeat for Governor, having meanwhile removed to Indianapolis, Mr. Hendricks entered upon an enlarged law practice, without relaxing his interest or abandoning active participation in politics. Upon the gathering of the war clouds, in common with most of his party and all conservative men, he deprecated civil war and favored any honorable constitutional compromise to avert its horrors. At a meeting of the Indiana Democracy, January 8th, 1861, Mr. Hendricks being Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, it was resolved that it was the highest aim and most imperative duty of patriotism and philanthropy to preserve the Union of the States in its integrity and maintain the Federal compact in its spirit. His position was subsequently made the subject of bitter misrepresentation, to some of which he made fit reply in this letter, which may be comprehensively taken as the index to his political position throughout the war:

GOVERNOR HENDRICKS' VIEWS ON THE REBELLION.

A Letter to the Indianapolis Journal, Thursday, April 25th, 1861.

"INDIANAPOLIS, April 24th.

"MR. EDITOR:—My attention has been called to an editorial in the *Journal* this morning, in which

it is stated that at a Union meeting held at Shelbyville a few evenings since a Committee was appointed to wait upon me, with the request that I should speak; that, being called upon by the Committee, I refused to speak, saying that I had no hand in originating the difficulty, and would have nothing to do in extricating the country from its perilous condition.

"The writer has been wholly misinformed. I never heard of the appointment of such a Committee, and suppose none was appointed. No Committee waited upon me with such a request. Had I been so honored, I certainly would have responded. I have never withheld my views upon any question of public interest from the people of Shelby County. Upon all occasions, when it appeared proper, I have expressed my opinions in relation to our present troubles. Since the war commenced I have uniformly said that the authority of the Government of the United States is not questioned in Indiana, and that I regarded it as the duty of the citizens of Indiana to respect and maintain that authority, and to give the Government an honest and earnest support in the prosecution of the war, until, in the providence of God, it may be brought to an honorable conclusion, and the blessings of peace restored to our country, postponing until that time all controversy in relation to the causes and responsibilities of the war. No man will feel a deeper solicitude in the

welfare and proud bearing of Indiana's soldiery, in the conflict of arms to which they are called, than myself.

"Allow me to add, that in my judgment, a citizen or newspaper is not serving the country well in the present crisis by attempting to give a partisan aspect to the war, or by seeking to pervert the cause of the country to party ends.

"Respectfully,

"THOMAS A. HENDRICKS."

In this manly statement of a patriotic position, from which no partisan consideration nor any tide of passion ever swerved him, is to be found the most effective answer to profuse misstatements which have been indulged in by his enemies. Throughout the war his party in Indiana was often radically intolerant, and as frequently it was the subject of unmitigated persecution and radical misrepresentation, but throughout these stormy times Mr. Hendricks kept the respect and confidence of his native State, conserved the fiercer antagonisms of the day, and on the first occasion of political preferment was vindicated by election to the United States Senate.

Hon. Joseph E. McDonald, his political associate and friend of many years standing, has borne this discriminating testimony to the honorable attitude of Mr. Hendricks during the war period: "The fact that he was a leader of the Democratic party during the war, and that neither the insinua-

tions nor the insults of wily opponents ever provoked from him one act or one expression not reverential to the Constitution and laws of the country, I regard as something well worth remembering. He could never be driven to an utterance possible to torture or construe into anything like hostility to the Union or enmity to any candid effort for its preservation. With his reasons for apprehension that our system of government was to be hopelessly injured, occupying the position he did, the most conspicuous figure for party malignity in the Republic, his motives purposely misinterpreted and his slightest mistake liable to be largely magnified, his course was such as attested the loftiest public worth."

His patriotism was appreciated and recognized by those who best knew him and who fathomed his motives. Often waiving his own judgment to sustain the Government in its extremity, he was the friend of Abraham Lincoln, and that great and good man gave him patient hearing when he went to appeal for the preservation of constitutional law by Executive interposition to prevent the hanging of Milliken and Bowles, the two Indiana victims of military courts, whose execution would have defaced our civil annals with ineradicable stain had not the tempestuous eloquence and overpowering logic of Judge Black "shook the arsenal" and arrested the faltering judgment of the Supreme Court. Upon the occasion of that

interview President Lincoln spoke warmly to Mr. Hendricks in commendation of peace proposals, and detained him in counsel for two hours, while the agents of the Republican party in Indiana cooled their heels outside, though they abated none of their clamor for the blood of the men whom they sought to hang by drum head processes of justice.

In June, 1863, upon the exciting popular question of the enrollment and the draft, Hendricks made a speech to the people of Rushville, Rush County, Indiana, in which he urged the necessity of obedience to the act and to all Constitutional enactments, both as a matter of duty upon the part of the citizens, and as the best means of preserving peace and order. In the course of this address he said: "Respect for legitimate authority and obedience to law has long been the cherished sentiment of the political party to which it is my pride to belong. *The dangerous doctrine that the conscience of the citizen may sit in judgment upon laws enacted in proper form, with a view to their resistance, has never been adopted by any considerable portion of the people of this State, and has at all times been bitterly opposed by the Democracy.*" A better exposition of the genius of Democracy it would be difficult to find.

In the campaign of 1872, Governor Morton having charged that Hendricks, as a Senator, had opposed every war measure, Mr. Hendricks con-

clusively answered by showing that he had voted for the army appropriation bills during his term, and particularly for that which sent Sherman triumphant in his march to the sea, replenished the ranks of Grant before Petersburg, and gave vigor and success to all subordinate operations of the war. That bill of five hundred and twenty-eight million dollars for such purposes was the largest appropriation ever made on earth.

Mr. Hendricks never lacked appreciation of the gallantry and heroism of the true soldier, and in a letter to the managers of a banquet to General Sherman, in Indianapolis, July 25th, 1865, he wrote: "I am gratified that his old associates in arms now in this city have determined in a suitable and elegant manner to do honor to one of the most gifted and illustrious captains of this age, whose skillful leadership of his gallant and grand army has shed so much lustre on American arms and contributed so greatly to restore peace for the country, and whose enlightened policy and spirited magnanimity toward the enemy in the hour of their defeat has reflected credit upon our character and people."*

* Again, before the Army of the Tennessee, Indianapolis, November 1st, 1878, he said, "The name of the great captain whose genius conceived and whose strategic and tactical skill conducted the march to the sea, will live in the memory of the Indiana school-boy long after Xenophon's memorable march shall have been forgotten by scholars."

CHAPTER VIII.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

THE political reaction came very early in Indiana. In the election of 1862 the Democrats obtained a majority of the Legislature on joint ballot, and there never was any doubt that it would elect Mr. Hendricks to the Senate, such was his pre-eminence in his party. He was elected early in 1863 and entered the United States Senate on the 4th of March of that year. Into that body he took the qualities which had distinguished him in his previous public experience, and his urbanity of disposition won for him many friends among his colleagues, irrespective of party. The Democrats in the Senate were overshadowed by an adverse majority, but maintained their organization with unflinching courage in the face of the bitter hostility which was born of the excitement of the war period and the malignant popular misrepresentation to which the opposition to the Administration was subjected. The reputation which had preceded him and his recognized ability gained for him early a place in the leadership of his party in the Senate, and he served with distinction and industry on the Committees of Claims, Public

Buildings, Judiciary, Public Lands, and Naval Affairs. That his Senatorial experience in that critical epoch worked no depreciation of his worth in popular estimation is best proved by the success of his subsequent political career. His relations with the politics of that period are thus summed up by a discriminating critic* of public men and measures:

"He was a Democratic Senator in the most trying times of the war, when many less faithful or less discreet men made hopeless shipwreck of their political future, but the record of Mr. Hendricks has stood the severest test and is conspicuous for its freedom from the partisan blunders which then and since have ranked as crimes.

"The sweep of Republicanism over the North as a necessity to sustain the Lincoln Administration, carried Indiana with it, and anchored it in the Republican column under Oliver P. Morton, the ablest politician and statesman of the opposition. Mr. Hendricks fell himself in one of Morton's great battles, but he then, as ever before and after, proved himself stronger than his party; and he was the first of the overthrown Democratic chieftains to recover his State."

For four years of his Senatorial term he was the colleague of Senator Lane, and for the remaining two years Governor Morton, who succeeded Lane, was his junior colleague. It was in

* Colonel A. K. McClure in *Philadelphia Times*, April 25th, 1880.

the discussion of the reconstruction questions that Mr. Hendricks took most prominence, and upon one occasion, January 30th, 1868, he engaged in masterly dispute with Morton on the vital issue of all the reconstruction debate. It was of that speech that ex-Senator McDonald has recently said: "I was in Washington during Mr. Hendricks' Senatorial term, and heard his speech in reply to Morton, who favored a military bill then up for discussion. It was certainly the ablest effort of Mr. Hendricks' life, and I do not remember ever to have heard a more adroit, earnest, and eloquent discourse. It had a marked influence at the time, and won the highest order of admiration from his opponents." Mr. Hendricks had shared Mr. Lincoln's friendship and confidence, and knew his disposition toward the South. He was frequently at the White House and was always warmly and cordially welcomed there. In March, 1865, just before the assassination, after the adjournment of the Senate, Mr. Hendricks called on Lincoln to bid him good-bye. He took the Senator kindly by the hand and said: "I know, Hendricks, that you are a Democrat; but you have treated my Administration fairly, and I think it is due you now to say to you that things will shortly assume a shape across the river [turning and pointing to the Potomac] when I can have a general jubilee." It was certainly the purpose of the President to have offered the South a gener-

ous policy of reconstruction, which would probably have alienated from him the Radicals of his own party, but as certainly would have commanded for him the confidence of the late rebellious States and the co-operation of the great conservative element of the North.

His tragic taking off, alas! interrupted this. His successor was not able to carry out the work, if he even rightly understood his fallen chief's purposes and plans. But throughout the debate that ensued over the restoration of political rights to the Southern States Mr. Hendricks maintained by law and logic what he believed to be the position of Mr. Lincoln with regard to them, and favored what he thought would have been the practical policy of the murdered President. That policy he proved most conclusively, in his speech of January, 1868, by citations from the speeches of Morton and Wade of a few years before, to have been in accordance with the Democratic theory of 1868. For instance, he quoted this passage from a speech by Morton:

"From the beginning of the war up to the present time, every message of the President, every proclamation, every State paper, and every act of Congress, has proceeded upon the hypothesis that no State could secede from the Union; that once in the Union, always in the Union. Mr. Lincoln, in every proclamation, went on the principle that this was an insurrection, a rebellion against the

Constitution and laws of the United States; not a rebellion of States, but a rebellion of the individuals, the people of the several Southern States; and every man who went into it was personally and individually responsible for his acts, and could not shield himself under the action or authority of his State. He went on the principle that every ordinance of secession, every act of the Legislatures of the rebel States in that direction, was a nullity, unconstitutional and void, having no legal force or effect whatever, and that as these States were, according to law, in the Union, their standing could not be affected by the action of the people; that the people of these States were personally responsible for their conduct, just as a man is responsible who violates the statute in regard to the commission of murder, and to be treated as criminals, just as the authorities thought proper; that the people of a State can forfeit their rights, but that so far as their action is concerned, in a legal point of view, they had no power to affect the condition of the State in the Union. Every proclamation and every act of Congress have proceeded upon this hypothesis."

Senator Wade also had said in the Thirty-eighth Congress:

"It has been contended in the House of Representatives, it has been contended upon this floor, that the States may lose their organizations, may lose their rights as States, may lose their corpo-

rate capacity, by rebellion. I utterly deny that doctrine. I hold that once a State of this Union, always a State; that you cannot by wrong and violence displace the rights of anybody or disorganize the State. It would be a most hazardous principle to assert that. No, sir; the framers of of your Constitution intended no such thing. And how gentlemen, with this principle of the Constitution staring them in the face, can fancy that States can lose their rights because more or less of the people have gone off into rebellion, is marvelous to me."

Mr. Hendricks turned these arguments most effectually upon the opposition in the establishment of his theory that the existence of a State which had been in rebellion, "its organization as a State, its Constitution, which was the bond of its organization, continued all the way through the war; and when peace came it found the State with its Constitution and laws unrepealed and in full force, holding that State to the Federal Union, except all laws enacted in aid of the Rebellion." In further support of his position, Mr. Hendricks said:

"Mr. Lincoln, in most express terms, in most emphatic language, in language at the time somewhat offensive to some members of his own party, held the same doctrine; and I call the attention of Senators to the proclamation to which I refer. In the first place, Mr. Lincoln, on the 8th of December, 1863, issued a proclamation, first, of gen-

eral amnesty to those who would take a prescribed oath, and then assuring them that if the people of these States would recognize State Governments loyal in their character the Executive would respect and, under this clause of the Constitution, would guarantee those Governments. Here is his language—not calling upon Congress as the source of power for the action of the people, but appealing directly to the people independently of Congress. He says that if they will reorganize their State Governments, such shall be recognized as the true Government of the State, and the State shall receive thereunder the benefits of the Constitutional provision which declares that 'the United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government,'" etc.

He further reminded his Republican colleagues that the Winter Davis bill passed on the last day or two of the first session of the Thirty-eighth Congress. It provided a legislative mode of reorganization, a legislative policy. Instead of acting under that bill, Lincoln threw it back in the face of Congress, and said that Congress should not tie his hands to any particular mode of reorganization. Such was his proclamation, dated on the 8th day of July, 1864, after he had been renominated; and after that he was re-elected by his party. Continuing his illustrations and citations, he made unanswerable statement of the

Democratic position and convincing proof that it was the policy of Lincoln. He reviewed with master hand the wrongs and oppression of carpet-bag Governments and military satrapies in the South, and forcibly arraigned the Republican Congress for its infractions of the Constitution.

Knowing the hopelessness of an appeal to reason or justice on the part of the majority, but looking to the country and the future, he said: "There are not many of us in the minority here, but few as we are, we feel that we are standing in the Thermopylæ of our country's history, and I believe there will not one flee from the combat." It will hardly be disputed in the light of subsequent history that the minority in that eventful struggle were right.

During the impeachment trial of Andrew Johnson, when Benjamin Wade, acting Vice-President, took his seat as one of the triers in the case and proposed to exercise his Senatorial prerogative to vote on the question of Johnson's guilt or innocence, himself being next in succession, Mr. Hendricks challenged him and forcibly stated the objections to such an assumption when he declared that "no man should help to take from the President his office when that man is to fill the office if the proceeding succeed." The question thus raised was characterized by Mr. Sumner as one "of much novelty," and in its different parliamentary phases it was the subject of a two days'

debate. It was finally made a point of order that a motion to postpone the swearing in of Mr. Wade was out of order, "under the rules and under the Constitution of the United States." Chief Justice Chase submitted the point for debate, and after a prolonged discussion Mr. Hendricks withdrew his objection, because Senator Bayard and other of his colleagues who agreed with him on the merits of the case were of the opinion that the question ought more properly to be raised when the court was fully organized.

CHAPTER IX.

TWO GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGNS.

HIS leadership in the Senate was so marked, and his exposition of the Democratic position so candid, fair, and able, that Mr. Hendricks in 1868 was a leading candidate of his party for President. In the National Convention held in New York his name was received with great enthusiasm, and was supported by many votes through the twenty-one ballots in which the Convention sought to reach a decision between the eighteen names before it. On the twenty-first ballot Hancock led with one hundred and thirty-five and a half to one hundred and thirty-two for Hendricks, when the break was made for Seymour and he became the unwilling nominee by acclaim. Mr. Hendricks never sulked in his tent. From the moment the choice of the Convention was made it had his loyal support. Much against his inclination, he was nominated unanimously by his party in Indiana for Governor, but he shrank not from carrying the standard placed in his hand, and, after a most exciting joint debate over the the State with his opponent, Conrad Baker (subsequently and at present associated with the Hendricks law-firm), Mr. Hendricks was defeated

on the face of the returns by nine hundred and forty-two plurality. For four years following he devoted himself assiduously to the practice of his profession. When the disintegration of parties was threatened in 1872 he anticipated an organic union of many elements of the Republican party with the Democratic and thought this could be best accomplished by the nomination of Hon. David Davis in the Liberal Republican Convention in Cincinnati. Disappointed at the selection of Mr. Greeley, he yielded to the party sentiment which ratified that nomination at Baltimore, and was again without dissent made the candidate of his party for Governor, being pitted on this occasion against General "Tom" Browne, the popular Republican nominee.

The campaign of 1872 in Indiana was the best fought battle that the Democratic organization of that State ever made. It had slight equipment of money, but conducted the canvass in the most thorough manner. It was a hand-to-hand conflict, Morton leading the opposition to save his State for his party. Nothing but the power of Hendricks and his personal popularity prevented utter defeat for the Democrats. The Legislature was lost, and the entire State ticket, except Superintendent of Public Instruction and Governor, to which latter office Hendricks was elected by one thousand, one hundred and forty-eight over Browne.

The overwhelming defeat of his party in the

other sections of the country that year abated for a season Democratic interest in National politics, but a single circumstance of the times proves the hold which the Governor of Indiana had on the affections and respect of his party at large. The Greeley electors had been chosen in Maryland, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, and Texas—a total of sixty-eight. After the election and before the meeting of the Electoral College, Mr. Greeley died, quickly following his beloved wife, at whose death-bed he had been watcher and mourner during that fiery canvass. The unprecedented and unprovided for contingency of a party with a certain number of electoral votes being left without a candidate had occurred—as it is liable to happen any time, though no party has taken warning from this notable experience to provide for it. When the Democratic electors, in their several States, thus freed from obligation to the nominee of the National Convention, were left to their free choice, forty-two of them voted for Mr. Hendricks, while eighteen voted for B. Gratz Brown, the candidate for Vice-President, two for Chas. J. Jenkins, and one for David Davis.

Mr. Hendricks was inaugurated Governor January 13th, 1873, and began an administration marked by his characteristic conservatism, close attention to details, practical wisdom and good judgment upon public questions. The integrity of his motives and conduct was never called into

question. With a wise system of State government, which had not suffered from serious maladministration of its internal affairs, the Commonwealth of Indiana was in fairly prosperous condition when he found it, and his administration improved its healthful state.

One of his official acts which provoked contention and criticism was his approval of the Baxter bill of a Republican Legislature, regarded in some quarters as an extreme temperance measure and distasteful to an element of his party which had given him political support. The enactment was not in accordance with his views of legislation, but had been passed by both branches of the Assembly upon the recommendation of his predecessor. Although he knew the bill would become a law, whether approved by him or not, Governor Hendricks would have been willing to interpose the Executive veto if he could have found a constitutional objection of substantial weight to the measure, but this not appearing, he signed it. With characteristic frankness and fearlessness he went into the next State Convention of his party to discuss the issue raised by his approval of the bill; and being made Chairman of the Convention, he addressed it at length upon current topics, making this reference to the Baxter bill:

"I came to the conclusion that its provisions were not in violation of the Constitution. It was not a case of hasty or inconsiderate legislation.

It was deliberately considered in both branches of the Legislature. Believing the bill to be constitutional, and that it expressed the deliberate judgment and will of the Legislature, it was my duty to sign it. *I believe the veto power is conferred to arrest unconstitutional and hasty legislation, and legislation in derogation of fundamental and essential rights, such as the equality of representation, and not to enable the Governor to oppose his opinions to those of the people's immediate representatives upon questions of mere policy or police regulation.* That law has not received the popular support necessary to make it efficient. It has encountered determined hostility on the part of those engaged in the liquor business, and for many months extreme temperance people, in a very extraordinary manner, have shown an unwillingness to abide by its provisions.

"Propositions will be brought before the next Legislature for the material modification or repeal of the law. What legislation shall take its place? Our Supreme Court has declared absolute prohibition to be unconstitutional, and experience, I believe, has shown it to be impracticable. It then only remains to regulate the traffic.

"Any useful law must rest upon the proposition that there are serious evils to society and to individuals connected with the traffic in intoxicating liquors which it is the province of the law to restrain and prevent. Sales should not be made

to boys; and if necessary to prevent it, the boy who misrepresents or conceals his age to obtain liquor should be punished as well as the party who knowingly sells to him. Drunkenness should be punished as well as selling to the intoxicated. All sales should be forbidden when the public peace or safety requires it; and, like other pursuits, it should be suspended in the night time. Perhaps the hour now fixed is unnecessarily and inconveniently early, but society should be protected from the disturbances and bloodshed incident to the traffic in the middle of the night.

"I think it might properly be considered whether a difference in regulation could not safely be made for the sale of vinous and malt liquors and the stronger and more intoxicating drinks. There is certainly a great difference in the evils that result from their use.

"With these and such other provisions as may seem reasonable and necessary, I think experience justifies the adoption of the license system. The amount required for the license in each case should be greater than heretofore. It should be sufficient to make the party selling feel that his interest is identified with that of society in preserving order and good conduct at his place of business, and avoiding all violations of law. This policy will bring a large revenue into the school fund, and will prove more efficient in suppressing the evils of intemperance than the

present system. I cannot appreciate the objection that by receiving a license fee society uses money received from an improper source. Under the present law the State grants the permit and declares the business lawful. Under a policy which we have long maintained, every violation of our criminal law that is punished by fines adds to the school fund. No law upon this subject can be useful unless supported by public opinion in its favor. The wise legislator considers the weakness as well as the strength, the follies as well as the wisdom, of man, and adapts the laws to his real wants and necessities."

The eminent wisdom of his position and the practical results of it were demonstrated by subsequent events. He followed his speeches in the Convention and on the stump with recommendations to the Legislature. The Baxter bill was repealed, a license system substituted that has contributed millions to the school fund of Indiana, the evils of intemperance were mitigated, while the legitimate liquor and beer traffic was placed upon a basis and subject to a regulation far more satisfactory to those engaged in it.

The extract from his speech on the Baxter bill, which is italicized in the foregoing citation, is a commendable view of the veto power, of which few Executives have shown such intelligent comprehension.

Upon one occasion during his term as Gov-

ernor the Legislature of Indiana adjourned without completing its business. Governor Hendricks brought it back straightway. His admonition that the neglected measures required little time, and that the members, having not yet left the capital, had not earned mileage, brought about a prompt dispatch of the neglected business and prevented unnecessary prolongation of the extra session.

During his term as Governor, December 29th, 1874, at the opening exercises of the State Teachers' Association, he delivered an address full of thoughtful concern for the educational interests of the State, which always had his earnest attention.

Under his administration the debt of the State, which is now no considerable amount, was largely taken up, the credit of the Commonwealth sustained and enhanced, and its material affairs prospered. It was during this period that the financial issue threatened to divide the Democracy. As a sufficient answer to the misrepresentation which Mr. Hendricks' attitude toward this question has been subject to, there is appended here an extract from his speech in the Convention of 1878. From these sentiments he never departed, though the Indiana Platforms in some degree had transcended his views and also that of the Ohio Democracy, in the campaign when he went over to help them, but he invariably steered his course consistently with these sentiments:

"We desire a return to specie payments. It is a serious evil when there are commercial mediums of different values; when one description of our money is for one class and purpose, and another for a different class and purpose. We cannot too strongly express the importance of the policy that shall restore uniformity of value to all the money of the country, so that it shall be always and readily convertible. That gold and silver are the real standard of value is a cherished Democratic sentiment not now or hereafter to be abandoned. But I do not look to any arbitrary enactment of Congress for a restoration of specie payments. Such an effort now would probably produce widespread commercial disaster. A Congressional declaration cannot make the paper currency equal to gold in value. It cannot make a bank note equal to your dollar. The business of the country alone can do that. When we find the coin of the country increasing, then we may know that we are moving in the direction of specie payments. The important financial question is, How can we increase and make permanent our supply of gold? The reliable solution is by increasing our productions and thereby reducing our purchases, and increasing our sales abroad. He can readily obtain money who produces more than he consumes of articles that are wanted in the market, and I suppose that is also true of communities and nations."

CHAPTER X.

ELECTED VICE-PRESIDENT AND COUNTED OUT.

WITH such a loyal support of his party in his own State as no man as ever retained in American politics, and with an unchallenged place in the front rank of the leaders of the Democracy of the whole country as he had now come to hold, popular sentiment made Mr. Hendricks one of the two conspicuous candidates of his party for the Democratic Presidential nomination in 1876. He had proved his statesmanship in long and honorable public service, his integrity had never been assailed, he had led the battles of his party for supremacy in Indiana, and he had demonstrated his ability to carry that State, one of the pivotal points of the electoral struggle.

In the St. Louis Convention his name was presented by Mr. Williams, seconded by Mr. Fuller, both of Indiana, and Mr. Campbell, of Tennessee, for his delegation, spoke in favor of Hendricks' nomination. But in the long struggle of the Resolutions Committee the supporters of Mr. Tilden had secured the vantage ground by successful advocacy of the "hard money" platform. The first ballot practically decided the result. It was as follows:

FIRST BALLOT, ST. LOUIS CONVENTION, 1876.

STATES.	Tilden.	Hendricks.	Hancock.	Parker.	Bayard.	Allen.	Broadhead.
New York	70	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Massachusetts	26	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Illinois	19	23	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
California	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maine	14	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Arkansas	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Colorado	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Connecticut	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Alabama	13	5	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
Iowa	14	6	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
Indiana	.....	30	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kansas	.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Georgia	5	.....	1	.....	16	.....	.....
Virginia	17	1	.....	.....	4	.....	.....
New Hampshire	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
West Virginia	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	10	.....
New Jersey	.....	.....	.....	18	.....	.....	.....
Texas	10½	2½	2	.....	1	.....	.....
Vermont	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
South Carolina	14	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Rhode Island	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Missouri	2	7	.....	.....	.....	2	19
Wisconsin	19	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Delaware	.....	.....	.....	.....	6	.....	.....
Tennessee	.....	24	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Mississippi	16	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Louisiana	9	.....	5	.....	2	.....	.....
Oregon	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Ohio	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	44	.....
Pennsylvania	.....	.....	58	.....	.....	.....	.....
Minnesota	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maryland	11	3	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
Florida	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
North Carolina	9	4	5	.....	2	.....	.....
Kentucky	24	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Nevada	3	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Nebraska	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Michigan	14	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Totals	403½	133½	77	18	31	56	19

Whole vote	713	Hancock	75
Necessary for a choice	476	Allen	56
Tilden	403½	Bayard	27
Hendricks	133½	Parker	18

Broadhead 19

The issue of administrative reform and the consideration given to the larger importance of New York's thirty-five electoral votes, determined the struggle after one ballot in favor of Mr. Tilden. The first ballot was reported as given, and after the announcement of it the States soon tumbled in to make his vote the necessary two-thirds.

After the Presidential nomination the Convention took a recess until next morning, and during the interval every thought of any other nominee for Vice-President than Mr. Hendricks was abandoned. Upon reassembling, the delegates nominated him with great enthusiasm by acclamation on the first ballot, though no assurance was had from him or from the delegates who had presented him for the first place that he would accept the second. Importunities quickly poured in upon him from all parts of the country, and, yielding to the universal demand from the party which had honored him, and which he was always ready to serve, he accepted the nomination and bore his part bravely in the memorable campaign of 1876.

In his letter of acceptance of that year he repeated his financial views as they had been previously expressed; and, while he avowed distrust of artificial devices to secure resumption as hindrances rather than helps, he reiterated the doctrine that "Gold and silver are the real standards of value, and our national currency will not be a

perfect medium of exchange until it shall be convertible at the pleasure of the holder."

Upon other subjects of more timely and abiding interest, Mr. Hendricks declared with great vigor his sympathy with the declarations of the platform and the official acts and utterences of Mr. Tilden. For example, he said:

"The institutions of our country have been sorely tried by the exigencies of civil war, and since the peace by a selfish and corrupt management of public affairs which have shamed us before civilized mankind. By unwise and partial legislation, every industry and interest of the people have been made to suffer; and in the executive departments of the Government dishonesty, rapacity, and venality have debauched the public service. Men known to be unworthy have been promoted, while others have been degraded for fidelity to official duty. Public office has been made the means of private profit, and the country has been offended to see a class of men who boast the friendship of the sworn protectors of the State amassing fortunes by defrauding the public Treasury and by corrupting the servants of the people. In such a crisis of the history of the country, I rejoice that the Convention at St. Louis has so nobly raised the standard of reform. Nothing can be well with us or with our affairs until the public conscience, shocked by the enormous evils and abuses which prevail, shall have demanded and

compelled an unsparing reformation of our national Administration, 'in its head and in its members.' In such a reformation, the removal of a single officer, even the President, is comparatively a trifling matter if the system which he represents, and which has fostered him as he has fostered it, is suffered to remain. The President alone must not be made the scape-goat for the enormities of the system which infects the public service and threatens the destruction of our institutions.. In some respects I hold that the present Executive has been the victim rather than the author of that vicious system. Congressional and party leaders have been stronger than the President. No one man could have created it, and the removal of no one man could amend it. It is thoroughly corrupt, and must be swept remorselessly away by the selection of a Government composed of elements entirely new and pledged to radical reform.

"With the industries of the people there have been frequent interferences. Our platform truly says that many industries have been impoverished to subsidize a few. Our commerce has been degraded to an inferior position on the high seas; manufactures have been diminished; agriculture has been embarrassed; and the distress of the industrial classes demands that these things shall be reformed.

"The burdens of the people must also be light-

ened by a great change in our system of public expenses. The profligate expenditure which increased taxation from five dollars *per capita* in 1860 to eighteen dollars in 1870 tells its own story of our need of fiscal reform.

"Our treaties with foreign powers should also be revised and amended, in so far as they leave citizens of foreign birth in any particular less secure in any country on earth than they would be if they had been born upon our own soil; and the iniquitous coolie system, which, through the agency of wealthy companies, imports Chinese bondmen, and establishes a species of slavery, and interferes with the just rewards of labor on our Pacific coast, should be utterly abolished.

"In the reform of our civil service I most heartily indorse that section of the platform which declares that the civil service ought not to be 'subject to change at every election,' and that it ought not to be made 'the brief reward of party zeal,' but ought to be awarded for proved competency and held for fidelity in the public employ. I hope never again to see the cruel and remorseless proscription for political opinions which has disgraced the Administration of the last eight years. Bad as the civil service now is, as all know, it has some men of tried integrity and proved ability. Such men, and such men only, should be retained in office; but no man should be retained, on any consideration, who has prostituted his office to the

purposes of partisan intimidation or compulsion, or who has furnished money to corrupt the elections. This is done, and has been done, in almost every county of the land. It is a blight upon the country, and ought to be reformed.

"Of sectional contentions and in respect to our common schools I have only to say this: That, in my judgment, the man or party that would involve our schools in political or sectarian controversy is an enemy to the schools. The common schools are safer under the protecting care of all the people than under the control of any party or sect. They must be neither sectarian nor partisan, and there must be neither division nor misappropriation of the funds for their support. Likewise I regard the man who would arouse or foster sectional animosities and antagonisms among his countrymen as a dangerous enemy to his country. All the people must be made to feel and know that once more there is established a purpose and policy under which all citizens of every condition, race, and color will be secure in the enjoyment of whatever rights the Constitution and laws declare or recognize; and that in controversies that may arise the Government is not a partisan, but within its constitutional authority the just and powerful guardian of the rights and safety of all. The strife between the sections and between races will cease as soon as the power for evil is taken away from a party that makes political gain out of scenes of

violence and bloodshed, and the constitutional authority is placed in the hands of men whose political welfare requires that peace and good order shall be preserved everywhere."

Upon the issues thus formulated, Mr. Tilden and Mr. Hendricks were elected, after a campaign in which the candidate for Vice-President took an effective part. Of the popular vote the electors supported by the Democratic party received 4,284,885, to 4,033,950 for those who represented Hayes and Wheeler, 81,740 for Peter Cooper, 9,525 for Green Clay Smith, and 2,636 scattering. The States divided as follows:

Tilden and Hendricks had the votes of the States of Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Kentucky, Tennessee, Indiana, Missouri, Arkansas, Mississippi, Texas, Florida, South Carolina, Louisiana, and West Virginia; total, 203.

Hayes and Wheeler had the votes of the States of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Michigan, Iowa, Wisconsin, California, Minnesota, Oregon, Kansas, Nevada, Nebraska, and Colorado; total, 166.

But the electoral votes of Florida, Louisiana, South Carolina, and Oregon were disputed. Mr. Hendricks favored insistence upon the lawful election of the Democratic candidates and a refer-

ence of any legal questions that might arise to the constitutional tribunals appointed to decide them. Mr. Tilden, it is held, was also for standing on the law and precedents, which would have seated him and his colleague. But the Democrats in Congress, to escape what seemed to them to be the danger of civil war, assented to the creation of an extra constitutional Electoral Commission, made up of members of the House, Senate, and Supreme Court Judges, consisting of fifteen in all, of whom

Eight were Republicans,

Seven were Democrats.

The Republicans voted almost invariably for any proposition that would confirm the title of Hayes and Wheeler, and by excluding evidence when it was hurtful and admitting the same kind of evidence when it helped their case, by going behind the returns in one instance and refusing to go behind them in another, by confirming fraud and ratifying forgery, they justified a report which gave all the disputed votes to Hayes and Wheeler, and seated them by one electoral vote. After an exciting struggle in Congress the report was adopted and fraud was made triumphant.

Two Republicans in the House—Henry L. Pierce and Julius H. Seelye—raised their voices in protest against the fraud, and they continue to have the respect of honest men. Senator Roscoe Conkling absented himself from the proceedings of

Congress while the ravishment of Louisiana was being perpetrated by his party.

Hayes and Wheeler lived through their term, and at the expiration of it retired to their respective homes. Before the Electoral Commission Judge Black had concluded his argument with the prophecy that the slowly turning mills of the gods, which are poetically supposed to grind out retribution, would some of these days have the water turned on them. The time for fulfillment seems to be at hand. The beneficiaries of the fraud returned to Ohio and New York and have since lived in great obscurity, objects of general contempt. Neither has ever been mentioned for other political office or dignity, and Hayes' name is received in conventions, even of his own party, with hissing, or popularly recalled only by the prominence of his wife in temperance and religious associations.

Mr. Garfield, who visited Louisiana in behalf of his party in 1876 and sat as one of the Commission to judge the Louisiana case in 1877, was nominated by the Republicans for President in 1880 and was inaugurated, but he was assassinated by a fanatic named Guiteau, who claimed to be a stalwart of Stalwart Republicans. A most despicable character by nature, Guiteau was inflamed to the frenzy of his foul crime by the excitement which prevailed in his party over the appointment of a Collector to the Port of New York. At the sup-

posed instigation of the Secretary of State, Mr. Blaine—certainly with a view of rewarding one of Blaine's friends—the President had removed the efficient officer who held this post, without good cause and against the wishes of the New York Senators. This disagreement threatened to divide the party, and at the period of President Garfield's death the breach was imminent. The political suavity of his successor has healed it for a time.

Senator Edmunds, of the Electoral Commission, and Senator Sherman, of the "visiting statesmen" of that year, have both been urged as candidates for the Presidency; and ill-luck has even attended the candidacy of four of the Democratic members of the Commission, though they all stood up manfully for the right and the law. While the mildew of retribution has thus blighted the political prospects of those who were responsible for the great fraud and those who were its beneficiaries, the most conspicuous sufferers by it—Samuel J. Tilden and Thomas A. Hendricks—have steadily grown in the respect of the public and the favor of their party. Had his physical condition permitted, a mere nod of assent from Mr. Tilden would have commanded for him unanimous renomination in 1884, and with one voice the Convention laid at the feet of Mr. Hendricks its nomination to the place from which he was excluded by fraud in 1877.

CHAPTER XI.

MR. HENDRICKS AT HOME.

IT has been nearly a quarter of a century since Mr. Hendricks first made his office and residence in Indianapolis. With his inborn love of rural life and associations, strengthened by his experience of maturer years, he for a time had his home on a little farm four miles from the city, whence he removed within the municipal limits after his election as Governor, to meet the requirements of the law which prescribes that the Executive of Indiana shall live in the capital city of the State. He has always lived in democratic simplicity, like a gentleman with refined but not luxurious or extravagant tastes. With genuine hospitality he entertained his personal friends and public acquaintances during his Gubernatorial term, and his frequent popular receptions to the Legislature were occasions of great pleasure to the members and his fellow-citizens. After his retirement from office and during the visit of himself and wife to Europe, their residence was closed, and in the interval between that time and the resumption of their housekeeping they boarded at the Bates House, where their pleasant rooms were accessible to friends, and visitors were always welcomed with genial hospitality.

About four years ago Mr. Hendricks and his wife—constituting their whole family—removed to and since then have lived in one of the two houses owned by him in the central part of the city of Indianapolis, on North Tennessee Street, near the corner of Ohio, across the street from the new Capitol of the State in course of erection. His residence is a modest two-story flat-roofed brick building, painted a drab color and standing a considerable distance in from the street. A spacious grassy lawn stretches in the front and to the side of it, with an ailanthus tree and several young maples scattered about the grounds. Straggling hollyhocks and other old-fashioned garden flowers usually found about country houses are seen along the side fence, and an appearance of half neglect, without any untidiness, gives the entire place a cheerful, easy look that makes the humblest caller feel at home and the most stately and fastidious will have no right feeling of taste or order offended. No "broad sheets of plate glass" attract the wonderment of the visitor here, nor is there "ample *porte cochere*," neither "baronial hall" nor "massive stairways decorated with carvings" betokening grandeur of fortune or desire of display. It is the modest, fitting home of an American gentleman, with a broad and hospitable hall, tastefully but simply furnished double parlors, well-filled bookcases being a feature of the rear room. Mr. Hendricks' own library and office are in a chamber

on the second floor, and here, within easy reach, are his law books, political manuals, reports, and all the tools of his varied work.

The Democratic candidate for Vice-President, ex-Senator, ex-Governor, and leader of his party in Indiana, is a well-preserved man of about five feet nine inches in stature, well proportioned and stoutly built, though not corpulent, with small and shapely hands and feet; his once light hair, now thin, is well mingled with the silver of age, but not of enfeeblement; his gray eyes have lost no lustre and in their use he shows no signs of failing sight; his nose is a prominent feature of his face; his mouth and chin, and, indeed, the whole contour of his face, are expressive of firm, strong character, with a gentleness of disposition and tender touch; he wears the least of side whiskers, which are light gray, and his complexion is fair. In conversation he is easy, courteous, cautious, and deferential. In his face, and form, in the freedom of his countenance from the wrinkles of age or care, in the firmness of his figure and the elasticity of his step, he shows the results of a temperate, upright life and the unmistakable evidences of a sound mind in a sound body, both preserved by prudent modes of living and constant self-control.

Mr. Hendricks was married in 1845 to Miss Eliza C. Morgan, of the well-known Virginia family transplanted to Ohio, near the metropolis of which State her mother still resides. His bride

was a beautiful and brilliant girl, who laid her hand in his and joined her fortunes with those of young Hendricks when his career was all before him, and she has been his faithful friend and counselor in all their happy years of conjugal union. A not unfriendly but no more than fair newspaper writer has recently printed this personal note of Mrs. Hendricks: "She is a fine-looking lady, about fifty years old, rather small of stature, with dark hair and eyes. She wears eye-glasses, which give her something of a *distingue* appearance, and she dresses richly but plainly. She is a brilliant conversationalist and a lady of rare tact. For many years she has devoted much attention to charitable matters, and for four years was one of the Board of Trustees, appointed by the Republican Governor, of the State Institution for the Reformation of Girls. While president of the Board a legislative investigation of the institution was held, and developed the fact that the affairs had been managed much more economically and effectively than when under control of men. When Mr. Hendricks was Governor of the State she visited with him the various penal and reformatory institutions, and was not satisfied with a casual inspection of them, but inquired into their affairs closely. She is valuable to him in various other ways, for she has an extended knowledge of political affairs and excellent judgment regarding them. All of his carefully pre-

pared speeches bear the impress of her work. They are a charming couple, thoroughly congenial and almost equally talented."

At home and in his travels she is his constant friend; every detail of his life commands her closest attention and most faithful care, and she enters largely into all plans of his political future. But she springs from a family averse to politics. Her father, elected to the Ohio Legislature, resigned and quit the place in three days because of his distaste for political service; and she never hesitates to say that she married Mr. Hendricks "as a lawyer," and takes her highest pride in his achievements at the bar. True wife and woman, she has the loyal ambition of her sex to have him succeed in all undertakings and ardent hopes for his election when nominated; but of more supreme interest and attraction to her than political intrigue or affairs of State is her care for his personal ease and domestic comfort. She appreciates that to his public and professional success no ministry can be more useful than that which wards off dyspepsia; to the public man, no service so helpful as that which affords sleep, "balmy, light, from pure digestion bred."

The first and only offspring of Mr. and Mrs. Hendricks was a son, who was born while they dwelt in their plain frame dwelling at Shelbyville, and there at the age of three he died. His grave is marked by a graceful marble shaft inscribed,

"Our Little Morgan." Portraits which hang in almost every room of their house show a sweet baby face with laughing brown eyes, dark curls shadowing the brow, and firm, calm lips, resembling those of the father. His blessed and perennial memory has strengthened their bond of union and has been a sunbeam in their home wherever they have made it.

During his Senatorial term, Mr. Hendricks and his wife never kept house in Washington, and by no appearance of residence there did he ever separate himself from or become a stranger to his constituents. With remarkable devotion to the people among whom he grew to manhood, and with unfailing attachment to them personally and to their interests, he has made it an almost invariable rule to visit and speak in Shelbyville, his old home, during every general campaign. He is authority in that community, and the sympathy he has always had from its citizens is one of the best tests of a successful public life. During the campaign of 1876, the local pride in his career and position manifested itself in the erection of a campaign pole in Shelbyville, the largest ever put up in this country, its erection occupying several weeks' time and involving an expense of over one thousand dollars. After the judgment of the Electoral Commission it was cut down and made into walking-sticks, which had a large sale among his admirers.

Soon following the electoral dispute of 1877, Mr. Hendricks and his wife took a journey to Europe, visiting Ireland, Scotland, England, France, Germany, and Austria. His letters reflecting his observations upon these countries, their people and institutions, were full of interest and replete with practical wisdom. During the winter of 1883–84, Mr. and Mrs. Hendricks again visited Europe, their time being spent in England, France, and Rome, and covering a trip to Algiers. After their arrival in New York homeward, they paid a visit to Mr. Tilden before returning to Indiana, and when they reached their home in Indianapolis, April 16th, 1884, there was a great popular ovation to them, marked by a serenade from fifteen hundred of their fellow-citizens and speeches by leading men of the city.

Mr. Hendricks was born and baptized in the Presbyterian Church, of which his father was an elder, and although always a strict moralist and generous supporter of agencies for the preaching and spread of religion, he connected himself formally with the Church for the first time about twenty years ago, when he joined the Protestant Episcopal denomination, and has been for many years a warden of St. Paul's Cathedral Church in Indianapolis, being the senior in that office now. Rev. Dr. J. S. Jenckes, Dean and Rector of St. Paul's, speaks in the highest terms of his character as a man and a churchman. His presence as

a lay delegate in the General Convocation of the Church in Philadelphia in 1883 was notable, when Senator Edmunds declared himself "a candidate for no Presidency," and ex-Secretary of State Hamilton Fish was another distinguished one of the laymen in that body.

HIS FAITH.

The simple, earnest Christian faith of the man, which knows no doubt and has not been shaken by the assaults of modern Agnosticism, is set forth in the report by an Indianapolis newspaper of an address by ex-Governor Hendricks before the Young Men's Church Guild in that city, in course of which he said:

"I care not which one of the highways you pursue toward knowledge, you will come to a place in the course of your travel where you will stop —where you can go no further—as upon the road it shall be a mountain or an impassable gulf, and beyond that what is the distant land then becomes a question exclusively of faith. This side of that boundary line it is not allowed to us to adopt faith; but I take it that the providence which intended that human intellect should always be stimulated to inquiry intended that we should rely upon our efforts and investigation within the realm of proper inquiry. But we reach a line and boundary beyond which inquiry cannot go, sometimes, very early in our progress. I know scarcely

any question that does not have this limit and restriction. Take your own person, and you know of its existence, you know of its faculties and powers; but really you know but little of yourself. Have you any idea how it is that your will does govern your body? You know the fact that by the will the mind itself does work, but how it is and what it is you know not. You know that some faculty is connected with your body that controls its action; but just what that faculty is you know as much as Adam and Eve when they stepped out of the garden. They knew just as much as you do. No philosopher has gone further. How it is that spirit dwells with matter, and how it influences the action of matter, no man knows nor will ever know. So I might go on to give several illustrations, but I will not undertake it. For myself, when I come to that boundary where faith begins, I choose for my faith that which is the most beautiful, the most charming, and that which will promote man's happiness to the greatest extent and add to the glory and honor of the Great Author of all things."

TRIBUTE TO CHRISTIANITY.

No less sincere and eloquent was his tribute to Christianity in his oration at the laying of the corner-stone of the new Capitol building of the State, in Indianapolis, in 1880, when in tracing the elements of a State's greatness he thus ex-

pressed the obligations of society to the religion of Jesus Christ:

"We can judge of the future by the causes only that have operated in the past and that are operating now. While the religion of a people should be, and in this country is, kept separate and distinct from its civil government, still the religion of a people insensibly moulds the national institutions. It tempers their character, and to this temper their laws must conform. It is the atmosphere that surrounds and pervades the very structure of government. In conjecturing as to the future of a people, its religion should be regarded. The social and political institutions that have taken their form and spirit under the influences of the prevailing religion will be beneficent in their influences and of longer probable duration in proportion as it is true and enduring.

"Christianity has breathed its spirit upon the institutions that surround us. Some of its solemnities have attended the laying of this cornerstone. If the frightful thought could enter our minds that Christianity is all a delusion that must fade away before the advancing light of science, still a comforting assurance would remain that its gentle and humanizing and elevating influences have already so potently acted upon the minds of men that no pernicious or degrading superstition could ever take its place in any land that it has enlightened. If it were possible that skepticism,

born of science, could destroy our belief in the divinity of Christ, and overthrow all that part of our religion that teaches our duties to heaven, it cannot be conceived as possible that any form of faith could ever be substituted that would better teach man his duties in his relation to earth, or that would be incompatible with our political institutions."

CHAPTER XII.

A POPULAR PUBLIC SPEAKER.

SINCE the day he met Nathan Earlywine on Flat Rock, Mr. Hendricks has maintained his reputation and popularity as a public speaker. He is not violent nor declamatory in his expression, nor is he specially gifted with strength of voice and grace of manner; he has not the happy anecdotal style of the popular stump speaker, nor is he distinguished for ready wit, quick repartee, and severity of invective. He neither tears a passion in tatters nor splits the ears of the groundlings; he does not drape his thoughts in splendor of rhetorical imagery, and he suffers somewhat from a lack of imagination and inability to readily quote from his extensive reading of the English classics and parliamentary debates, with which, for other purposes, he is familiar. But he has a candid, vigorous, persuasive style that attracts and holds the attention of the average auditor and entertains without tiring, while it convinces and instructs an audience and challenges the respect of even the unwilling listener. His language is always well chosen, and usually dignified and temperate; if he is caustic and merciless to opponents, his severity is

generally the stern logic of irrefutable facts and unanswerable statistics. He speaks extemporaneously with fluency, but very often prepares his addresses with great care and delivers them from manuscript; and several instances of the accuracy with which he makes even startling statements have warned those who grapple in controversy with him that he is not one to lightly make accusations without a just appreciation of their gravity.

Of his popular addresses not of a strictly political character one of the most elaborate was his eulogy of Washington and the influence of his character and principles upon American institutions. This was delivered before the Democratic Association, in the Academy of Music, Philadelphia, February 22d, 1869, and was repeated in other places. While Governor, he very often made fitting addresses at public gatherings of a social, literary, educational, commercial, or agricultural character, and his public utterances were invariably in good taste, and displayed rare common sense. He made an address at the meeting of Governors on behalf of the great Centennial Exhibition, in Philadelphia, October 21st, 1875, which was a glowing approval of that great project and a thrilling plea for a restoration of good feeling among all parts of the Union. His address at the Southern Industrial Exposition, New Orleans, February 26th, 1876, while ornate and eloquent in all its parts, was a rich mine of care-

fully collated information and wise counsel upon material subjects. On April 12th, 1882, at the annual commencement of the Central Law School of Indiana, he delivered an address on "The Advocate," concluding with a fit and generous eulogy of Governors Whitcomb and Morton, the latter his foremost political antagonist. Mr. Hendricks' lecture on "Revolution," delivered in a number of cities during late years, is a philosophical and historical production of much literary merit.

THE CAPITOL ORATION.

At the laying of the corner-stone of the new Capitol of Indiana, September 28th, 1880, the oration was made by Mr. Hendricks. In stirring passages he recalled the history of his State since its entrance into the Union, and how the enterprise of its people had conquered the elements and subdued its soil. But of higher importance than the swelling of the census tables with the annals of its material increase he rated its intellectual and moral development. "The dark forests have disappeared," he said, "the wet lands have been drained; malarial diseases no longer prevail; and two million of prosperous and happy people occupy the rich lands of Indiana. But population alone cannot confer rank and dignity upon the State. Who cares to remember Persia, with her many provinces, her myriads of people, and her

vast wealth? But in all the course of time the little State of Attica cannot be forgotten. Greek thought and culture and devotion of liberty are immortal. Roman law and learning and taste and courage have enriched the blood of all civilized nations. Ancient Gaul is known to us because Cæsar conquered it and wrote the story of his conquest. The men of Indiana not only love liberty, but they have a thorough appreciation of the advantages of good government and an intelligent understanding of what is necessary on their part to preserve and maintain it. They recognize the fact that wherever a State is controlled directly or indirectly by the people, public virtue and popular intelligence are indispensable. They know that free institutions cannot be made to rest securely upon ignorance and vice." * * *

"The building whose corner-stone we lay to-day will be no kingly palace where an arbitrary ruler shall wield powers not voluntarily conferred upon him by the governed. It will be no temple dedicated to some false worship. It will be an edifice where the sovereignty of a free and enlightened people—a sovereignty invisible indeed, but nevertheless as real and as potent as any that Europe or Asia has ever known, shall have its seat—a house from which shall go forth those influences that preserve social order and foster public prosperity—a temple where 'sovereign law, the State's collected will, sits empress, crowning good, repressing ill,'—a

political temple sacred to the exercise of a popular self-government—a form of government that when once well established can never be overthrown, and that is destined in some future age, in God's good time, to supersede every form of government that ambition, aided by power and superstition, has imposed upon the peoples of the earth."

CHAPTER XIII.

ON THE STUMP.

DURING every political campaign Mr. Hendricks' services on the stump are in great demand, not only from the Democracy of his own State, but of every part of the Union. The old Macedonian cry from his Democratic brethren of other Commonwealths has never fallen upon a deaf ear when Thomas A. Hendricks was asked to "come over and help." His party patriotism knows no limitation of State lines; his personal comfort or individual interests never controlled his movements in a campaign. When asked once if he was out of politics, he answered that he did not expect to be while he was out of his grave. And again he has said that the Democratic party has treated him with such kindness and bestowed so many favors upon him that it could ask no sacrifice of him that he would not make. He has presided over many State Conventions of his party, notably those of July 15th, 1874, February 20th, 1878, and of 1880, and on these or other occasions he has been wont to "strike the key-note" of the Indiana campaigns. While Governor of the State, witness to the demoralization which ensued from the concentration

of all the Federal forces in the State in October, he recommended that the Constitution should be so changed that the general State election take place in November instead of October.

Before the Convention of 1874 he made a speech, in which occurs that striking passage in arraignment of the mismanagement of the South by the Federal Government and its relation to national prosperity: "Cotton and tobacco are the most important staples in our exports, at some times exceeding all other commodities. Since the close of the war it has been the suggestion of wisdom to encourage their production in the largest possible quantities, as it had been the dictate of humanity, Christianity, and patriotism to promote reconciliation and harmony between the sections. But political and partisan interests have been made paramount to humanity and the welfare of the country. Bad governments have been established and, as far as possible, maintained in the South. Intelligence and virtue have been placed under the dominion and servitude of ignorance and vice. Corruption has borne sway; public indebtedness has become frightful, and taxes too heavy to carry, have crushed development and manacled enterprise. In a word, it has been the government of hatred, and all this that party might bear rule. They have nourished the noxious plants of corruption—violence and fraud—in Louisiana and other States rather than the cotton

plant and sugar-cane. Agriculture cannot flourish under bad laws, corrupt administration, and cruel taxation."

He made a very impressive speech on "Township Democracy" at the Park Theatre, Indianapolis, March 30th, 1881. In his Fourth of July oration at Greencastle, the same year, he expressed profound sympathy for Garfield, stricken down by the bullet of an assassin. In the State Convention of August 2d, 1883, he was Chairman of the Resolutions Committee. At the Jackson banquet given by the Iroquois Club, of Chicago, March 15th, 1882, he replied to the toast, "Our Country," and he made an address before the third semi-annual Convention of Democratic Editors of Indiana, June 30th, 1882.

TRUE REFORM.

In his speech at Zanesville, Ohio, September 3d, 1875, he reviewed in a most masterly way the increasing extravagance and corruption in the administration of public affairs and laid bare to the bone the occasion for deep-reaching and genuine civil-service reform.

A FAVORITE IN PENNSYLVANIA.

Mr. Hendricks took part in the Iowa canvass of 1883; but in no State is he more of a favorite or have his services on the stump been more eagerly sought by his party than in Pennsylvania,

where both lines of his immediate ancestry had their roots. He spoke with great favor to a Philadelphia audience October 22d, 1875, in the Gubernatorial campaign, at the invitation of the Americus Club, and roused his hearers to enthusiasm again and again as he pleaded for the restoration of good government and the wiping out of all sectional lines in an impassioned speech, of which a single extract will convey some idea of the spirit:

"Why, gentlemen, is not the wheat that is grown upon the rich lands of Indiana a part of the wealth of Philadelphia as well as the wheat that grows in Chester County? [Cheers.] Ah, gentlemen, it was the teaching of a wise statesmanship to promote the industries of the South, and it was the dictate of Christianity and of all religion that the past relations of the two sections should be speedily restored. Every religious or charitable consideration appealed to you and to me and to all of us whose ears were more open to the appeals of suffering humanity than to the narrow-minded demands of party to close up the breach, and said to us: 'The war is over, the winds of heaven have blown away the smoke of the battle; we are one people; one flag once more floats over us all; one Constitution establishes the framework of government for us all, and one destiny awaits us all. Let us, in heart and in hand, in sentiment, in affection, and fraternity, be

again one people.' [Here the audience responded by rising tumultuously and waving hats and handkerchiefs, while making the hall ring with huzzas.]

"I repeat that stern statesmanship and mild-eyed religion come to us together with one message, saying, 'Restore the old relations of amity and concord between all parts of the distracted country, and have prosperity in every portion thereof.' [Applause.] But how has it been with us? Virginia several years ago was able to recover her self-government; Georgia soon after resumed control of her own affairs; and finally North Carolina came in, and then Texas, and at last Arkansas; and just as soon as self-government was restored to all these States, it seemed as if blessings literally rained down from heaven upon the people. They once more built up their waste places; the bramble was taken from their fields, and the cotton-plant, the sugar-cane, the tobacco-plant, and the corn placed in the ground, and prosperity reappeared." [Cheers.]

The speeches of Governor Hendricks at Phillipsburg, Centre County, and in Allegheny City, in the Pennsylvania Gubernatorial canvass of 1878, were signally effective; the wildest enthusiasm ever witnessed at a public meeting in that town was manifested when he uttered this sentiment in his speech in Allegheny: "Do you think the Democratic party can die? Other parties can die,

other parties may die, other parties do die, but the Democratic party can never die. Democracy, democratic principles, are always enthroned in the hearts of the free and liberty-loving people. Although Jefferson was the great teacher of our faith, yet democracy did not have its birth in the United States. In the past ages, in all countries where there was a desire for better government, where man wanted better laws for mankind, and where the hearts of the whole people longed for equal justice before the law for all the people, there was democracy born." On his way to get to Allegheny some railroad detention had created fears that he might not arrive in time to speak, and a special train was rigged up and sent out to meet him. To get him to the hall in season it was run fifty miles in less than an hour, and he was borne to the stage on the shoulders of the people, but the enthusiasm over his speech exceeded even the tumult of applause which his arrival had excited.

CHAPTER XIV.

IN CONTROVERSY.

A FREQUENT misapprehension of Mr. Hendricks' character is that he is a negative man. This impression obtains because in the too frequent dissensions which have disturbed the harmony of his party he has often refused to take sides radically, and more than once has successfully attempted to allay rather than widen the differences. Mr. Hendricks has the gift of seeing what too many public men fail to see—that there is generally a measure of truth on either side of great popular controversies. The radicals unquestionably have some uses as pioneers and axe-men in the cause of truth, but if it was left entirely to their destructive services it is doubtful if its substantial victory would ever be achieved. Mr. Hendricks is one "that holds fast the golden mean," and comes to his opinions rather by argument and conviction than through prejudice; he discusses more than dogmatizes, and deems it no proof of good seamanship to escape Scylla by being engulfed in Charybdis. But he keeps his views none the less tenaciously, enforces them no less aggressively, and defends them with no slighter degree of skill

and persistency because of these habits of thought. The best test of his quality of mind is made in controversy. Illustrations have been cited from his earlier professional and political experience in support of this. Let these of more recent date serve to confirm it:

Upon the invitation of the editor of the *North American Review*, he discussed the tariff question with cogency and clearness in its pages in 1879. Again, he engaged in a "symposium" in the same periodical with Messrs. Blaine, Lamar, Hampton, Garfield, Stephens, Phillips, and Blair, upon the questions, "Ought the Negro to be disfranchised? Ought he to have been enfranchised?" He summed up his answers to these questions in this concise style:

"I am not able to see why the subject of negro suffrage should be discussed. It must be known to all that the late amendments will not be, cannot be, repealed. There is but the duty upon all to make the political power now held by the enfranchised race the cause of the least evil and of the greatest possible good to the country. The negro is now free, and is the equal of the white man in respect to his civil and political rights. He must now make his own contest for position and power. By his own conduct and success he will be judged. It will be unfortunate for him if he shall rely upon political sympathy for position rather than upon duties well and intelligently dis-

charged. Everywhere the white race should help him, but his reliance must mainly be upon himself."

IN THE CAMPAIGN OF 1880.*

Mr. Hendricks' most notable political speech was made in Indianapolis during the canvass in 1880. The State Committee had appointed August 14th as the day for opening the campaign along the entire line. All the available orators, both home and foreign, were to be drafted into the service. Mr. Hendricks was, as usual, in universal demand. From almost every one of the ninety-two counties of Indiana demands came pouring in upon the State Committee insisting that they must have Hendricks. Being the leader and idol of his party in Indiana, it had long fallen upon him to make the speech setting the State campaign in motion.

So strong was the demand that he should carry out the precedent which had established the common law of the party that Mr. Hendricks accepted the urgent invitation of the people of Marion, Grant County, Ind., to open the campaign on August 12th, two days prior to the general opening planned by the Committee. Contrary to his

* For the particulars of this account I am indebted to Mr. George F. Parker, of the Philadelphia *Times* and the *Weekly Post*. He was a resident of Indianapolis in 1880, and the above incident came under his personal observation. W. U. H.

practice, he prepared his speech with great care. It was written out and condensed down to the last degree. It was a vigorous presentation of the issues of the day and the merits of the Democratic candidates without a passionate, a doubtful, or a useless word. Naturally, Mr. Hendricks had always felt most keenly the wrong done him and the country by the decision of the Electoral Commission, and had studied all the elements which led up to it. He had given special attention to the proceedings of the so-called visiting statesmen at New Orleans in the winter of 1876–7, and was perfectly familiar with the share each one had had in that sinful and shameless proceeding. At the close of the Marion speech he therefore took occasion to animadvert briefly but in the severest terms upon the part which General Garfield had played in the execution of this wrong. He asserted that the Republican Presidential candidate had occupied an "inner room" of the New Orleans Custom House, where he had examined witnesses from the country parishes and had coached them in their testimony, which testimony he afterward adjudged as a member of the Commission. This severe accusation attracted no unusual attention for several days; but in due time it came to General Garfield's attention. The candidate did not deign to take any personal notice even of so serious a charge upon his personal and political character, but by his advice and con-

sent the Indianapolis *Journal*, the Republican organ, on the 6th day of August, contained a bitter editorial article reflecting upon Mr. Hendricks, accusing him of misrepresenting and maligning General Garfield, and calling upon him to either substantiate or disavow his charges, with the promise that his reply would be published in its columns.

Mr. Hendricks' attention was called to this article about nine o'clock of the day on which it was published. He at once resolved to reply in a public speech in the evening. It happened to be the turn of the Democrats to occupy the wigwam on that night, and a young negro Democratic orator was billed for the principal speech. The announcement was given as wide a circulation as was possible in the brief intervening time, by handbills, wagons, and other accepted methods of political advertising, that Mr. Hendricks would speak from the same stand with the negro. It was impossible to make known that he would reply to his traducers, but as the Hoosiers are a speech-loving people, and as their favorite always drew when announced, the wigwam was crowded with a large and expectant audience.

In the meantime Mr. Hendricks, with only a few hours for preparation, was diligently studying the testimony taken by the different committees that had investigated the New Orleans infamy and was making ready an answer. He had neither

time, inclination, nor necessity for writing his speech. He therefore came to the meeting with no notes except the passages he had marked in the printed testimony, providing himself with two stenographers to make a verbatim report. Plunging at once into the subject at issue, with the announcement that it was purely a question of veracity between himself and his newspaper and candidate accuser, he began a review of the facts. Never hesitating for a word, with all the details of that extensive conspiracy at his tongue's end, before an audience in keenest sympathy with himself and his cause, he showed from General Garfield's own testimony that he had been in sympathy with the conspiracy, that he had a personal interest in its success, and that he had participated in it at every turn, just as had been charged in the Marion speech. Mr. Hendricks' manner was cool and deliberate, the arrangement of the matter simple and logical, and his self-possession perfect. Every word did its part in unfolding the story of this crowning outrage, by which the rights of the majority of a people had been trampled under foot. For an hour and a quarter did this terrible and pitiless denunciation go on, and when it was closed his hearers felt, not only that he had outdone himself, but that they had listened to a masterpiece of political oratory. When he had concluded and the applause had been stilled, Mr. Hendricks quietly introduced the negro to the audience, he

and they remaining to hear an eloquent speech from the representative of the race upon whose members the opposing party had always claimed to have a mortgage.

When the speech was published next day, as it was the country over, congratulations poured in upon Mr. Hendricks from every quarter. The speech had impressed the public as forcibly as it had the few thousand people who had listened to it, and the response was equally prompt.

When the full report of the speech was presented to the accusing newspaper, it violated all decency and its own promise by refusing to publish it or in any way correct the foul aspersions it had cast upon the most distinguished man in its own city or State.

CHAPTER XV.

RENOMINATED FOR VICE-PRESIDENT.

THE results of the electoral campaign of 1877 were disastrous to the hopes of the Democracy; hence an angry contention has been waged ever since, with more or less violence, within the party as to who of its members was responsible in largest degree for the apparent assent of the organization to the creation of that extra-constitutional tribunal. In all the recrimination upon this subject no word of approval for the scheme has ever been reported as having issued from Mr. Hendricks in those troublous days. Further, it is not necessary to dip into that discussion here. This controversy, in its various phases, entered into the canvass for the Presidential nomination in 1880. There was antagonism rather than co-operation between the friends of Mr. Tilden and those of Mr. Hendricks, and after the former's letter of withdrawal was published it was generally recognized that the remaining survivor of the "old ticket" could not be nominated for first place. He was placed in nomination in an eloquent speech by Senator Voorhees at the Cincinnati Convention of 1880, and was loyally supported by the delegates from his State, who did not offer him

for any other office nor did they propose the name of any candidate from Indiana for second place after General Hancock's nomination. Other States made Mr. English, of Indiana, the candidate for Vice-President, and the delegates from his own State assented. As has been seen, the ticket had Mr. Hendricks' most zealous support, but his party in Indiana lacked the popular influence of his candidacy that year, and its defeat there in October presaged the general disaster of November.

Subsequently Mr. Hendricks engaged in the practice of the law, devoted his leisure to literary work and personal enjoyment, visited Europe, and deemed his public career closed. The suggestion of the name of Hon. Joseph E. McDonald, from his own State, for the Presidential nomination of his party met with his approval and support, and by Mr. McDonald's request Mr. Hendricks was placed at the head of the delegation to the Chicago Convention from Indiana, and was appointed to put his distinguished fellow-citizen in nomination. At the same time, the proposition to redress the fraud of 1876–77 by the renomination of Tilden and Hendricks met with such favor in Indiana that Mr. McDonald stood ready to defer to it in the event of Mr. Tilden's consent to such renomination. When his letter of peremptory declination was made public, Mr. Hendricks was entirely out of the field.

His appearance in the National Convention—

for the first time a delegate to such a body—created great enthusiasm, and every time he entered the Convention hall he was received with marked demonstrations of popular favor, like encomiums and expressions of good-will being directed to the distinguished Senator Thurman, of Ohio, also a member of the Convention. When Mr. Hendricks took the platform and made his speech nominating Mr. McDonald, the enthusiasm increased in force, and throughout his address its points were marked by thunders of applause and unceasing popular tributes of personal respect.

On the last day of the Convention and during its second ballot for President, the single vote of a delegate from Illinois for Mr. Hendricks had the startling effect of a spark dropped into a great pile of combustible material. It has since transpired that after the ballot of the previous night session, in which Cleveland had shown such decided strength, his opponents, after a careful survey of the field, had determined that Mr. Hendricks was the only name upon which all the elements of opposition could be united and which had a positive strength that might be successfully joined with these to make the movement a success. Accordingly, by preconcerted arrangement—to which neither Mr. Hendricks nor the delegation from his State was a party, of course—as soon as the single Illinois vote was cast for him a tumult of cheering broke out from every quarter

of the hall. It was intensified by the recollection of the electoral fraud and strengthened by the sentiment rife in the Convention for the renomination of the "old ticket," or at least a representative of it. Personal consideration for Mr. Hendricks and local pride in a Western nomination swelled the greeting which his name received, and for nearly half an hour the sight and sound that ensued were such as to baffle descriptive powers. The vast audience was moved to louder and deeper and more expressive demonstrations of its satisfaction, and the tumult reached its climax when the banner of Indiana was carried to the President's desk and Senator Voorhees' tall form and waving arms, looming up like the branching sycamore, were seen on the platform, and his rich, sonorous voice told of the transfer of Indiana's votes from McDonald to Hendricks.

But the flood was broken against the breakwater of the rest of the Illinois delegation, who announced the bulk of their vote for Cleveland. The superior organization, cooler heads, and better discipline of his forces triumphed, and his nomination was soon accomplished.

During this eventful time bulletin boards all over the country and at nearly every cross-roads in Indiana revealed the situation, and for a half hour the name of Hendricks was on every lip as the likely nominee for President. The sudden and totally unexpected demonstration of the

popular esteem for him overtook him with such startling effect in the discharge of his duties as a delegate, that, after the motion was offered and put and carried, at his instance, to make Mr. Cleveland's nomination unanimous, he retired from the Convention, leaving Mr. English to act in his stead, and went to his hotel for rest.

During the recess taken after the head of the ticket was named, the prominent members of the party held a hurried consultation as to the best name with which to supplement the choice of the Governor of New York. The fitness of Mr. Hendricks' selection was almost unanimously conceded, and to the suggestion that it would be distasteful to him and force the Convention to make another choice, the ready answer from those who knew him best, though without any authority to speak for him, was that he held his party duty too high to decline any service imposed upon him by its expressed will.

When the Convention met and the roll of States was called, there were various nominations made until Pennsylvania was reached, and then ex-Senator W. A. Wallace arose and said:

"I rise again in my place on the floor of this Convention, not to place in nomination a Pennsylvania man by birth, but, sir, to place in nomination for the second gift of the American people a man springing from old Pennsylvania's stock, from the western portion of the Commonwealth. In the

star of the West he found the lineage that gives him to the West. This gentleman is conversant with public affairs; throughout his entire life he has known of government and its details. Not only a statesman, but a pure and upright citizen, the representative of the grossest wrong that was ever perpetrated upon the American people, I nominate to this Convention as its candidate for the Vice-Presidency of the United States Thomas A. Hendricks."

Immediately the scenes of the previous session were renewed with undiminished force. The Indiana delegates, in the heat of their disappointment at the events of the earlier session, sought to dissuade and discourage the Convention by statements that Mr. Hendricks was not a candidate, and by intimations that he might not accept. But it was all in vain. The tide rose higher and higher. Governor Waller, of Connecticut; ex-Senator Wallace, Governor Hubbard, of Texas and one after another distinguished representatives of solid delegations spoke for Hendricks' nomination and with enthusiasm, but upon the deliberate call of the roll every vote in the Convention was reported for him. The scene that followed is thus described by an eye-witness:

"When the vote of Indiana was announced for Hendricks, and it was apparent that his nomination was unanimous, the delegates and the audience rose to their feet. The whole house was a

sea of undulating color, formed by waving handkerchiefs of every hue, hats, umbrellas, and everything else which could be seized upon by the excited assemblage. The band broke in with the strains of 'Hail to the Chief;' a number of the delegates seized the standards and bore them to the platform, where they were gathered into a cluster, about which were congregated two or three hundred delegates, who formed themselves into a procession and marched around the hall, while the band favored the crowd with 'The Star Spangled Banner.' Immediately upon the cessation of the music the people began again with a second chapter of uproar, when the band came in with 'Dixie,' followed with 'Auld Lang Syne,' thousands of voices chanting the words. Then the solemn notes of 'Old Hundred' came floating down from the gallery, and ten thousand voices joined in the grand old hymn. 'America' and 'Home, Sweet Home' were rendered by the band and voiced by the crowd, and the demonstration, after a continuance of something over twenty minutes, was at an end."

CHAPTER XVI.

AFTER THE NOMINATION.

THE news reached Indianapolis promptly and revived the enthusiasm, which had been checked by the disappointment felt after Mr. Hendricks' failure to be nominated for President. About midnight a salute was fired, and early next morning Mr. Hendricks, returning to his home, was greeted on all sides with congratulations and was visited during the succeeding day by hundreds of his friends and fellow-townsmen. At a ratification meeting called on Saturday night, to which he was escorted by crowds of citizen Democrats, he spoke extemporaneously, expressing his grateful recognition of the kindness shown him by his party of the whole country and of the expression of good feeling on the part of his neighbors. He thus voiced the Democratic demand for an opening of the books in Washington:

"I will tell you what we need—Democrats and Republicans will alike agree upon that—we need to have the books in the Government office opened for examination. [Cheers, and cries 'That is it.'] Do you think that men in this age never yield to temptation? [Laughter.] It is only two

weeks ago that one of the Secretaries at Washington was called before the Senate Committee to testify in regard to the condition of his department, and in that department was the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery. In that department an examination was being had by a committee from the Senate, and it was ascertained by the oath of the Secretary who sits at the head of the department that the defalcation found during last year, as far as it had been estimated, was sixty-three thousand dollars. And when asked about it, he said that he had received a letter a year ago informing him of some of these outrages, and a short time since somebody had come to him and told him there were frauds going on in the service; but members of Congress had recommended a continuance of the head of the bureau with such earnestness that he thought it must be all right, and now it turns out that the public was sixty-three thousand dollars out, and how much more no man, I expect, can now tell. But what is the remedy? To have a President who will appoint a head of the bureau that will investigate the condition of the books and bring all guilty parties to trial."

In the foregoing speech, and in his speech nominating Mr. McDonald in the Convention, Mr. Hendricks had animadverted severely upon the decline of official indignation at corruption by the reference to William E. Chandler's indifference

when the defalcation of sixty-three thousand dollars in the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery was discovered. Secretary Chandler thought it incumbent upon him to take cognizance of this second attack, and replied in an open letter, in which he defended himself by alleging that much of the defalcation occurred before he came into office, and by asserting that many Democrats had recommended Dr. Wales, the chief of the Bureau, for reappointment. Thereupon Mr. Hendricks replied by an open letter on the following day as follows:

MR. HENDRICKS' LETTER.

INDIANAPOLIS, July 14th, 1884.

The Hon. W. E. Chandler:

SIR: I find in the newspapers this morning a letter to me from yourself, written yesterday and circulated through the Associated Press. You complain that I did you injustice in an address to the people of this city, made the evening before. In that address I urged that "We need to have the books in the Government office opened for examination," and as an illustration I cited the case of a fraudulent voucher in one of the bureaus of your department, and stated that upon your testimony before a sub-committee of the Senate, it appeared that the frauds amounted to sixty-three thousand dollars. And is not every word of that true? You were brought before the committee

and testified as I stated. You admitted under oath that the sum of money lost amounted to sixty-three thousand dollars, but your defense was that the embezzlement did not wholly occur under your administration, but that a part of it was under that of your predecessor. It seems to have covered the period from June 21st, 1880, down to January 25th, 1884. Does that help your case? You were at the head of the department a year and nine months of that period, and your predecessor about one year and ten months. He was in office at the payment of the first false voucher, on June 21st, 1880, and up to April 17th, 1882, when you came in, and you continued thence until the last false voucher was paid, January 25th, 1884. The period was almost equally divided between yourself and your predecessor. How much of the sixty-three thousand dollars was paid out under yourself and how much under your predecessor your letter does not show. But, sir, upon the question that I was discussing, does it make any difference who was Secretary when the false vouchers were paid?

I urged that in cases like this, when frauds are concocted in the vaults or in the books of the department, the only remedy of the people is by a change of the control, so that the books and vouchers shall come under the examination of new and disinterested men. Do you think I am answered when you say I was mistaken in supposing that in

this case the frauds were all under your administration, when, in fact, a part of them extended back into that of your predecessors? Why, sir, that makes your case worse. For the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery the defalcation is large, but the more serious fact is that it could and did extend through two administrations of the department, a period of nearly four years, without detection. But it becomes more serious, so far as you are individually concerned, when the fact is considered that you had notice and yet took no sufficient action. The information upon which I spoke was from Washington, the 26th of last month, by the Associated Press, the same that brings me your letter.

The Associated Press obtained its information either in your department or from the investigating committee. If you were not correctly reported, that was the time for complaint and correction. You testified that the total of the suspicious vouchers discovered so far was about sixty-three thousand dollars, and that the money fraudulently obtained was in some instances divided between a watchman in the department Carrigan, the Chief Clerk, and Kirkwood, in charge of the accounts. Now, what notice had you? According to the Associated Press report of your testimony you received a letter last year charging Carrigan, one of the parties, with drunkenness, and after that a man came to you and told you that Kirkwood and Carrigan were engaged in

frauds. Did not that put you upon notice and investigation? You testified that some inquiry was made, and the conclusion was that while there was some suspicious circumstances they did not warrant a conclusion of guilt. After a notice, verbal and in writing, you left the men in office. You did not bring the fraud to light nor the guilty parties to punishment. It was Government Detective Wood who discovered the frauds, and the Associated Press report says that Wood declared he would have no further dealings with your department, but would press an investigation before Congress.

What is your next excuse? Worse, if possible, than all before. You say a large number of Congressmen, including some gentlemen of great influence and position, recommended that the head of the bureau, Dr. Wales, should be reappointed. Members of Congress knew nothing of the frauds; they had no opportunity to know. It was within your reach and duty. They were probably his personal friends; you were his official superior. But, in fact, did you reappoint him? I understand not. Perhaps the detective discovered the frauds too soon. But Dr. Wales was not one of the three guilty parties. He neither forged the vouchers nor embezzled the money. His responsibility in the case is just the same as your own. He was the official superior of the three rogues, as you were of himself as

well as of them. Neither he nor yourself exposed the frauds or punished the parties. I have not thought of or considered this as a case of politics. Addressing my neighbors, I said that this and like cases admonish them to demand civil service reform in the removal from office who will not seek to promote it within the sphere of their official duty and authority of all. Respectfully,

T. A. HENDRICKS.

The Secretary of the Navy, without further rejoinder, started out to sea upon the Government vessel Tallapoosa, visiting the seaports and navy yards of the Atlantic coast.

With this prompt deliverance upon the vital issues of the day, Mr. Hendricks' candidacy for his second election to the Vice-Presidency was placed before the country, and there is every likelihood that in its results will be realized the fulfillment of the prophecy which he uttered at the Manhattan Club reception in New York in 1877:

"A great and sincere people will pass their final verdict upon the outrageous act. Democratic principles will be carried out by Democrats and by such fair-minded Republicans as will not make themselves a party to the wrong done last winter. This will be accomplished by the majority of voters in the several States * * * and Indiana will again do her duty."

CHAPTER XVII.

NOTIFICATION AND ACCEPTANCE.

FOR several weeks subsequent to the Chicago Convention Mr. Hendricks remained at his home in Indianapolis, where he received the visits and congratulations of many political and personal friends from all parts of the country and disposed of a vast amount of correspondence. Toward the close of July, accompanied by Mrs. Hendricks, he went to Saratoga, as had been his wont in the summer, and during his stay there was visited by the Committee of the National Convention appointed to officially inform him of his nomination. On Wednesday, July 30th, the day after the Committee had waited upon Governor Cleveland for a similar purpose, its members assembled in the ladies' parlor of the Grand Union Hotel, Saratoga, to present their address to Mr. Hendricks. The room was crowded with a brilliant company of ladies and gentlemen, who greeted the appearance of Mr. Hendricks with applause. The members of the Committee arose when he entered, and remained on their feet during the proceedings.

Colonel W. F. Vilas, Chairman of the Committee, then addressed the nominee and presented

the formal notification of his Committee. After it had been read Mr. Hendricks replied as follows:

MR. HENDRICKS' REPLY.

"MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE COMMITTEE: I cannot realize that a man should ever stand in the presence of a committee representing a more august body of men than that which you represent. In the language of another, 'the Convention was large in numbers, august in culture, and patriotic in sentiment,' and may I not add to that, that because of the power and greatness and the virtues of the party which it represented it was itself in every respect a very great Convention.

"The delegates came from all the States and Territories, and I believe, too, from the District of Columbia. They came clothed with authority to express judgment and opinion on all those questions which are not settled by constitutional law. For the purpose of passing upon those questions and selecting a ticket for the people that Convention assembled. They decided upon the principles that they would adopt as a platform. They selected the candidates that they would propose to the party for their support, and that Convention work was theirs.

"I have not reached the period when it was proper for me to consider the strength and force of the statements made in the platform. It is enough for me to know that it comes at your hands from

that Convention, addressed to my patriotic devotion to the Democratic party. I appreciate the honor that is done me; I need not question that. But at the same time that I accept the honor from you and from the Convention, I feel that the duties and responsibility of the office rest upon me also.

"I know that sometimes it is understood that this particular office—that of Vice-President—does not involve much responsibility, and as a general thing that is so, but sometimes it comes to represent very great responsibilities, and it may be so in the near future, for at this time the Senate of the United States stands almost equally divided between the two great parties, and it may be that those two great parties shall so exactly differ that the Vice-President of the United States shall have to decide upon questions of law by the exercise of the casting vote. The responsibility would then become very great. It would not then be the responsibility of representing a State or a district; it would be the responsibility of representing the whole country, and the obligation would be to the judgment of the whole country, and that vote, when thus cast, should be in obedience to the just expectations and requirements of the people of the United States. It might be, gentlemen, that upon another occasion this responsibility would attach to the office:

"It might occur that under circumstances of some difficulty—I don't think it will be next elec-

tion, but it may occur under circumstances of some difficulty—the President of the Senate will have to take his part in the counting of the electoral vote; and allow me to say that that duty is not to be discharged in obedience to any set of men or to any party, but in obedience to a higher authority. Gentlemen, you have referred to the fact that I am honored by this nomination in a very special degree. I accept the suggestion that in this candidacy I will represent the right of the people to choose their own rulers, that right that is above all, that lies beneath all, for if the people are denied the right to choose their own officers according to their own judgment, what shall become of the rights of the people at all? What shall become of free government if the people select not their officers? how shall they control the laws, their administration and their execution? so that in suggesting that in this candidacy I represent that right of the people, as you have suggested, a great honor has devolved upon me by the confidence of the Convention. As soon as it may be convenient and possible to do so I will address you more formally in respect to the letter you have given me. I thank you, gentlemen."

At the close of Mr. Hendricks' remarks hearty applause was given, and a general handshaking followed, after which the assembled audience paid their respects to Mr. Hendricks and then quietly dispersed.

RECORD

OF THE

DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION

HELD AT

CHICAGO,

JULY 8–11, 1884.

CHAPTER I.

GATHERING OF THE HOSTS.

WHETHER Chicago is to be congratulated or to be pitied in her flood of nominating conventions is a question. Those who live by troops of visitors and lodgers—hotel and boarding-house people, venders of cigars, refreshments, drinks, peanuts, etc., rejoice. Newsboys, bootblacks, car drivers, and cabmen find plenty to do; but whether the solid, sensible, orderly, quiet-loving souls are happy is the problem. Possibly Chicago is not overstocked with residents of that character. If this be so, Chicago is constitutionally the place for nominating conventions.

Some idea of the "racket" raised on Sunday morning, July 6th, 1884, may be caught from the following graphic picture, sketched by an eye-witness. He says: "At a very, very early hour this morning the New York County Democracy, five hundred strong, each man decorated with a two-story badge and mansard roof attachment, entered the town amid a blaze of rockets, the glare of calcium lights, and the brilliancy of Roman candles. The bands played, and the boys swore because all of the places for refreshment had been closed since one o'clock in the morning. The Americus Club,

of Philadelphia, with the Weccacoe Band, escorted by the Cook County Democratic Club, also made the city lively for an hour or so by marching through the principal streets. Cream-colored hats and dark-brown suits constituted the uniform of the members, and the lapel of every coat was emblazoned with a badge of purple and gold as handsome as a Fifth Avenue front door.

"The Irving Hall Democracy got in at five, and had for their welcome the escort of the County Democracy, the crowd massing, as usual, at the Palmer House.

"After the County Democracy had escorted the Irving Hall party to the Palmer and marched them over the broad streets, the different sections of the newly arrived delegation were distributed among the hotels. The appearances of the men were not only good, but their marching elicited applause all along the route.

"The noise of the half-dozen bands had scarcely stopped when another escort was formed, composed of the Cook County Democratic Club, the Americus Club, and Samuel J. Randall Club, of Philadelphia, all with banners, flags, and colors flying, moving over the same route just covered by the Irving Hall party. They marched to the Michigan Southern depot, where, at half-past six, the trains bearing Tammany were unloaded of their precious burden. All Chicago had by this time prayed, dined, and wined, and for recreation and out of curiosity

crowded along the line the procession was expected to pass. Mayor Harrison contributed a guiding escort of some of the 'finest' the city can produce. It was not intended Tammany should parade until nine o'clock in the evening, to give the sachems, braves, and warriors time to wash and change their feathers; but Irving Hall had just made so much music, and the thousands and tens of thousands that blocked the thoroughfares were so expectant, that it was resolved at the last moment to give the town a treat."

So it readily came to pass all through the day that clatter and bang and push and drive were in order, much to the disorder of things generally and to the discomfort of the good citizens and church-goers. But to all ills there is an end, and so, after the rush of Sunday and of Monday, the eventful opening-day arrived, dawning cool and clear.

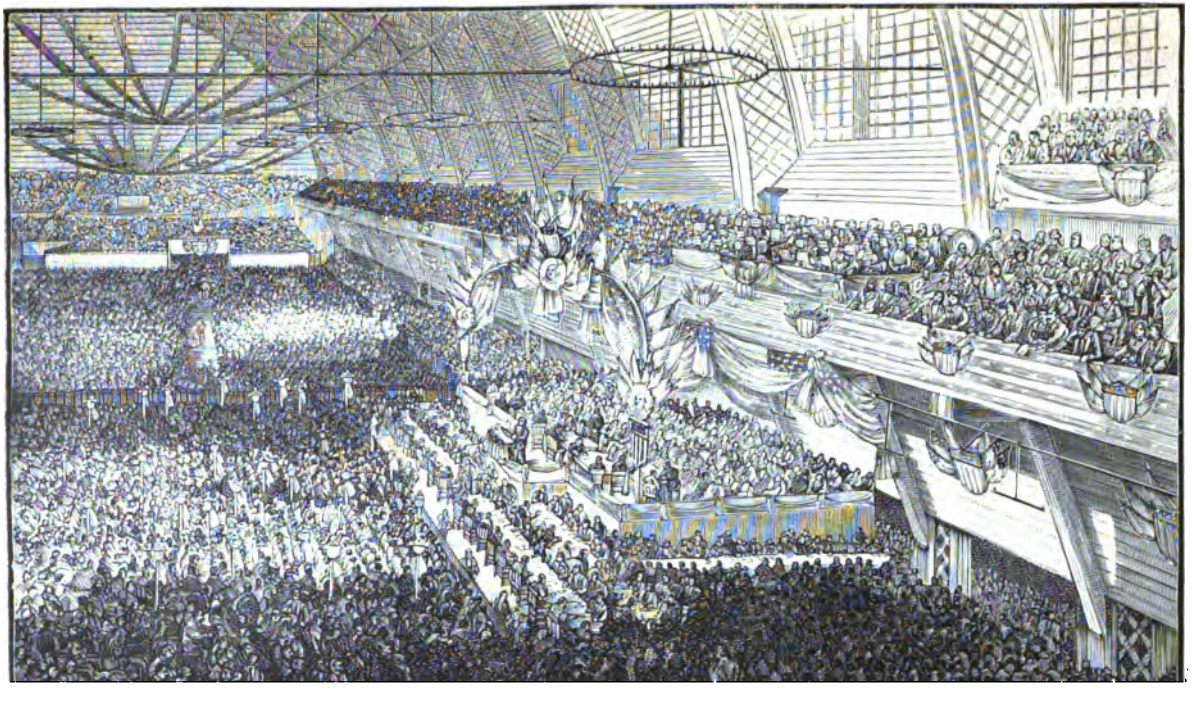
Promptly at 12:30 P. M. on Tuesday, July 8th, 1884, the Convention was called to order by ex-Senator Barnum, Chairman of the National Democratic Committee.

Prayer was offered by Rev. D. C. Marquis, of the Northwestern Theological Seminary. He prayed for "a blessing on this great assembly of representative citizens, that they should be endowed plentifully with that wisdom which is first pure, then peaceable, and gentle, and easy to be entreated; that nothing should be done through

strife and vain jealousy, but that they should be filled with that charity which is not puffed up and doth not behave itself unseemly." He prayed that their deliberations would be guided to such conclusions as would best promote the glory of God and the welfare of the nation. Chairman Barnum said:

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: Harmony seems to be the sentiment of this Convention. Even the air seems saturated with a desire and determination to nominate a ticket for President and Vice-President which will be satisfactory to the North and to the South, to the East and to the West; nay, more, a ticket that will harmonize the Democracy throughout the Union and insure a victory in November. Harmony prevailed in the deliberations of the National Committee. No effort was made to nominate a temporary Chairman in the interest of any candidate, but, on the contrary, one who shall preside over the deliberations of this Convention with absolute impartiality.

In that spirit, and to that end, I have been directed by the unanimous vote of the National Committee to name the Hon. Richard B. Hubbard, of Texas, for temporary Chairman of this Convention. As many as favor the election of R. B. Hubbard for temporary Chairman will say "aye." [A universal "aye."] Contrary, "no." [Not a voice responded on this side.] Hon. R.



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B. Hubbard, of Texas, is unanimously elected temporary Chairman of this Convention. The Chair appoints Senator B. F. Jonas, of Louisiana; Hon. George T. Barnes, of Georgia, and Hon. Abram S. Hewitt, of New York, a committee to wait upon Mr. Hubbard and conduct him to the chair." Mr. Hubbard having been led to the platform, the Chairman led him to the front, and said:

"Gentlemen of the Convention, I have the distinguished honor of presenting to this Convention Hon. Richard B. Hubbard, of Texas, as the absolutely impartial temporary Chairman of this Convention."

ADDRESS OF THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.

Mr. Hubbard came forward amid loud applause, and said:

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Democratic Convention of the Union: I am profoundly grateful for the confidence which you have reposed in me in ratifying the nomination of the National Executive Committee, who have done your bidding for the last four years by your authority. I accept it, my fellow-Democrats, not as a tribute to the humble citizen and your fellow-Democrat who speaks to you to-day, but rather as a compliment to the great State from whence I come—a State which, more than any other American State, is absolutely cosmopolitan in every fibre of its being. In its early days and struggles, thither came to our relief, as the winds sweep across the

sea, men of Illinois and New York, men of Maine and New England, men of Georgia and along the coast, gave their lives at the Alamo and San Jacinto for the freedom of Texas. I can only recall to you in the brief moments which I shall detain you the fact that our neighboring sister State, her women—her glorious Spartan women—sent to us the twin cannon that belched into glorious victory at San Jacinto; but above all we accept it as a tribute to the fact, my fellow-Democrats, that Texas, with her 2,000,000 people, gladly at each recurring election place in the ballot-box over 100,000 Democratic majority.

"Fellow-Democrats, we have met upon an occasion of great and absorbing interest to our party as well as to our common country. The occasion would not justify me, nor demand that I should attempt, to speak to you of its great history and its distinctive principles through two-thirds of the most glorious history of our country. I could not stop to discuss, if I would, its munificent policy of progress; the part which she has taken in building up our country, its progress, its territory, and its wealth. I can only say to you to-day, in brief, that the Democratic party in all the essential elements is the same as it was when it was founded by the framers of the Constitution, nearly three-quarters of a century ago.

"Men die as the leaves of autumn, but principles underlying liberty and self-government

—the right of representation and taxation going hand in hand; economy in the administration of the Government, so that the Government shall make the burdens as small as they may be upon the millions who constitute our countrymen—these and other principles underlie the Democratic party and cannot be effaced from the earth, though their authors may be numbered with the dead.

"I thank God, fellow-citizens, that though we have been out of power for a quarter of a century, we are to-day, in all that makes adherence and confidence and zeal, as much a party organized for aggressive war as when the banners of victory waved over our heads.

"The Democratic party, fellow-citizens, since the war time, commencing with reconstruction, with our hands manacled, with our ballot-boxes surrounded by the gleaming bayonet, with carpet-bag rulers, with the voice of freemen who pay their taxes to the Government stifled—the Democratic party has lived to see through all this misrule the day come when in a great majority of our States the Democratic party has resumed its control, its power. It has your House of Representatives, and but for treason stalking in the Senate Chamber we would have that, too.

"We have had the Presidency, too. But with impious hands—the hands of the robber—our rights were stricken down at the ballot-box, and,

through perjury and bribery and corruption, men, uttering falsehood through pale lips and chattering teeth, in the very temples of liberty, stole the Presidency from this country. Some of the men who participated in it have passed beyond the river and stand to give an account of their stewardship. But history will not lie when it records, as it has, that that Electoral Commission announced in the Senate Chamber through the House that it would consider the question and the evidence of fraud in the returns of the vote of Louisiana. I remember it. It is the blackest page in our country's history, and all good Republicans to-day are ashamed of it.

"They turned their faces as well as their consciences upon the promise of the past, and refused to consider the evidence, all reeking with ignominy and bribery and shame, and counted in a man who had not received under the Constitution and the laws the suffrages of his countrymen. That is a wrong that we have met here to right. Eight years have passed, that is true. We are told that the law has given the verdict to them; that is true. When a jury is in its box under the statute of your State and a judge upon the bench who holds the scales of justice unevenly, holds with guilty hands a parchment from the executive of your State, and allows the jury sitting in the box to condemn a man to death, under the ægis of law, he does what all the law writers of civili-

zation for hundreds of years have cursed and damned as legal murder. Oh! the great sin of that Electoral Commission remains to-day unpunished, and will ever be unavenged so long as the Republican party is in power in this country. I thank God that there is no statute of limitations running in favor of that party [applause]; and in that connection, my fellow-Democrats, be it said, to the credit of the Democratic party, that it exhibited none of that spirit of the Hotspur, and of that spirit which sought to engulf this country in war, fresh as it was from a great and fratricidal struggle.

"But our great leaders, Tilden and Hendricks [here the speaker was interrupted by long-continued applause, the delegates rising to their feet and waving their hats]—our great leaders, Tilden and Hendricks, with the dignity of heroic statesmen, with the courage of men who love their country better than its pelf and its power, accepted the wrong and injury of perjury and of fraud; and they are grander to-day in their defeat than the men who wear the power at the expense of justice and right. Thus we have succeeded in the face of Federal power; we would have succeeded in 1880 but for Federal gold and Federal greenbacks, fresh and uncut, from Washington—money earned and held by Star-route contractors and the *loving* friends of a venal Administration. They bought the Presidency.

"Fellow-Democrats, we want reform, God knows! not only in the *personnel* of men but also in the measures of the Government. We want men there whose very lives and whose very names would be a platform to this people; we want men there who shall, in all the departments of the Government—in its Department of Justice, its postal affairs, its Interior Department, everywhere—follow its servants with the eye of the ministers of justice, and see that every cent that belongs to the Government shall remain with the Government; that no tribute shall be demanded except the tribute that is due the Government; that no assessments shall be levied upon 100,000 office holders, who are paid $100,000,000 annually, $5,000,000 to go into a corrupt political fund. These, we thank God, will be corrected when the Democratic party shall get into power once more.

"We read the enunciation of principles by the Republican party. They tell us they have civil-service reform, and yet they demand in the next breath from every Federal office-holder of the one hundred thousand his tribute to the corrupt fund that shall be paid out to the voters at the polls. They tell us they have a Puritan Government, and yet not a solitary felon has been condemned in the flock of those who have stolen their millions from the Treasury. Your Springer Committee, only on yesterday and the day before, tells us of the perjury, of the corruption, of the subornations,

that run all along through the ministers of justice in the prosecution of the Government. We want real reform, a reform, my countrymen, that shall mean what it says and that will say what it means.

"Fellow-citizens, it is not my business as your presiding officer to-day to enunciate anything that shall be embodied in your platform. But I wish to commend one thing in this great assemblage of freemen to your Committee on Platform —that you endeavor to unite upon the basis of principles which we have advocated for the years that are gone, and that you will have no Delphic oracle speaking with double tongue in the platform which shall be named by you. Let the Green Mountain Boys of Vermont, and the men of Maine, of Texas, of Louisiana, and Georgia, the men from the Carolinas to the Golden Coast, demand that the Committee on Platform shall say in our noble vernacular of purest English tongue what they mean, so that the wayfaring man, though a fool, need not err in reading it. In doing this we will declare against the corruptions of the Government; that is, we will declare against the enormities of its system of civil service, its Department of so-called Justice, its postal service—the robbery in high places by men in power. It will say, moreover, that the burdens of the Government shall be placed alike, equally and equitably, upon all classes of our countrymen, having respect for the

greatest good to the greatest number. That the hundred millions of surplus revenue shall not be allowed to accumulate as a corruption fund, and that there shall be a radical reformation and reduction in the taxes as well as the methods of taxation in our country.

"But, fellow-citizens, in conclusion let me say that harmony and conciliation should rule your councils. There never was a time in the history of the Democratic party when the enemy invites the victory as now. The great and unnumbered hosts of dissatisfied men of the Republican party are heard in the distance—in New England and in New York, on the lakes and in the West, and everywhere; and while the Democratic party should not deviate one iota from its principles, it should with open arms say to these men (hundreds of thousands God grant there may be): 'Here is the party of the Constitution and the Union, that loves our common country. Come hither, and go with us for honest rule and honest government.'

"The Democratic party, while it may have its local differences, when the onset of the charge comes will be together; and whoever you may nominate, of all the great and good names that are before you—from the East to the West, from the North to the South—he who stands back in the hour of peril because his own State or himself shall not have received the choice—yea, the choice of his heart—is less than a good Democrat and

hardly a patriot in this our country's hour of peril.

"The Democratic party is loyal to the Union. The 'bloody shirt,' in the vulgar parlance of the times, has at each recurring election been flaunted in the faces of Southern Democrats and in your own faces. With Logan on the ticket, I presume it will be again. Blaine could hardly afford it, as he did not indulge much in that 'unpleasantness.' They will endeavor to stir up the bad blood of the past. My countrymen, the war is over for a quarter of a century, and they know it. Why, our boys have married the young maidens of the North, and children have been born to them since those days. They will continue to go to the altar and stand side by side at dying beds. They will talk of that bourne whence no traveler returns, will lie down and be buried together. Why, the Boys in the Blue and the Gray have slept together for a quarter of a century upon a thousand fields of common glory. Let their bones alone. They are representing the best blood of the land, and, though differing in the days that should be forgotten, the good men of all parties in our country to-day, I thank God, have united in the great common progress of our race to forget the war memories of the war times.

"I thank you, fellow-citizens. for your attention, trusting that your forbearance will be extended to me. What mistakes I shall make doubtless

you will treat lightly and kindly. Hoping that success may crown your efforts, that you may send a ticket to our country upon whom all may unite, is the wish of him whom you have honored with your suffrages this day."

The close of the address was greeted with long-continued and loud applause.

The rest of the temporary organization having been announced, Mr. Smalley, of the National Committee, offered a resolution that the rules of the last Democratic Convention shall govern this body, except that in voting for candidates no State shall be allowed to change its vote until the roll of the States had been called and until every State had cast its vote, and thus the great Convention proceeded to its work.

HON. JOHN KELLY,
of New York.

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CHAPTER II.

BALLOTING.

THE first ballot for the Presidential nominee began near midnight on Thursday, the 10th, and was not completed till about 12.30 A. M. of the next day. This ballot showed Cleveland to be within nineteen of a majority of the Convention, and as a majority is regarded as commanding the necessary two-thirds vote by Democratic custom, the field had to defeat a second ballot or surrender to Cleveland. Filibustering was resorted to, and after a most boisterous and ill-tempered ballot the motion to adjourn was defeated by eleven votes. Another ballot was then ordered, and general confusion followed until another motion to adjourn to a later hour was got in and a call of the States demanded. The roll-call was about to begin when Mr. Manning, the Cleveland leader, rose and wisely seconded the motion to adjourn. It was of course carried at once, and the battle ended at 1.00 A. M.

There was an evident disposition on the part of the field or anti-Cleveland forces to delay and prevent a ballot, but Jenkins, of Wisconsin, a Cleveland man, forced the fight by moving a ballot for President which resulted as follows:

FIRST BALLOT.

States and Territories.	Cleveland.	Bayard.	Randall.	McDonald.	Thurman.	Hoadly.	Carlisle.
Alabama,	4	14	...	1	1	...	...
Arkansas,	14	...	...	...	...	...	...
California,	...	...	...	...	16	...	...
Colorado,	...	...	...	5	1	...	...
Connecticut,	12	...	...	...	...	...	...
Delaware,	...	6	...	...	...	...	...
Florida,	8	...	...	...	...	...	...
Georgia,	10	12	2	...	...	...	...
Illinois,	28	2	1	11	1	...	...
Indiana,	...	...	...	30	...	...	...
Iowa,	23	1	...	1	1	...	...
Kansas,	11	5	...	...	2	...	...
Kentucky,	...	...	...	...	...	...	26
Louisiana,	13	1	...	...	1	1	...
Maine,	12	...	...	...	...	...	...
Maryland,	6	10	...	...	...	...	...
Massachusetts,	5	21	...	...	2	...	...
Michigan,	14	1	...	...	11	...	...
Minnesota,	14	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mississippi,	1	15	1	...	1	...	...
Missouri,	15	10	3	1	3	...	...
Nebraska,	8	1	...	...	1	...	...
Nevada,	...	...	...	...	6	...	...
New Hampshire,	8	...	...	...	...	...	...
New Jersey,	4	3	11	...	...	...	...
New York,	72	...	...	...	...	...	...
North Carolina,	...	22	...	...	...	...	...
Ohio,	21	...	...	...	23	2	...
Oregon,	2	4	...	...	...	...	...
Pennsylvania,	5	...	35	...	...	...	...
Rhode Island,	6	2	...	...	...	...	...
South Carolina,	8	10	...	...	...	...	...
Tennessee,	2	8	1	3	9	...	...
Texas,	11	10	...	1	4	...	...
Vermont,	8	...	...	...	...	...	...
Virginia,	13	9	...	1	1	...	...
West Virginia,	7	2	1	...	2	...	...
Wisconsin,	12	1	...	2	2	...	1
Dist. of Columbia,	...	...	2	...	...	...	...
Arizona,	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
Dakota,	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
Idaho,	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
Montana,	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
New Mexico,	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
Utah,	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
Washington,	1	...	1	...	...	...	...
Wyoming,	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
Totals,	392	170	78	56	88	3	27

Tilden had one vote in Tennessee, Flower had four votes in Wisconsin, and Hendricks had one vote in Illinois.

It was understood when the Convention assembled on Friday morning that Randall had withdrawn from the contest and that most of his strength would go to Cleveland.

The Convention was called to order at eleven o'clock, and prayer was offered by Rev. Dr. Clinton Locke, of Grace Church, Chicago. He prayed that the consultations of the body be for the furtherance of just and equal laws, for the preservation of liberty, for the punishment of wrong-doers, and for the praise of those who do well; that every delegate should be kept from being guided by his own selfish gain, by his own pride, or his own likings or dislikings. He prayed that in the great and noble contest which was opening before the American people there would be a cessation from strife and anger; that men's eyes should not be blinded to that which is fair and just; that all corruption, bribery, and illegal voting be kept far away, and that after the election the whole people may join in their support of the President.

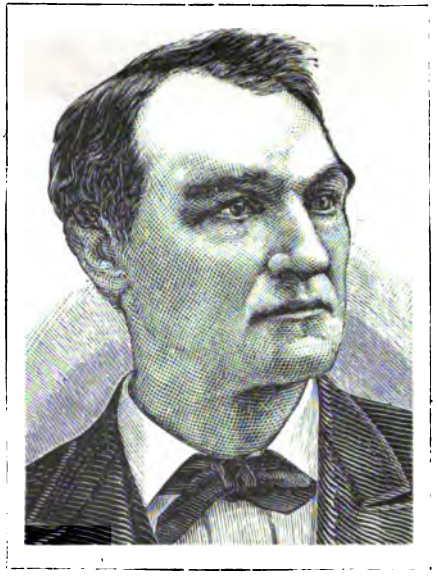
A motion was made that the Convention proceed to a second ballot. Then Mr. Snowden, of Pennsylvania, with thanks to those who had voted for Samuel J. Randall, withdrew that gentleman's name.

Then came the balloting, amid great confusion at times as favorite men were named or changes occurred in the votes. When all had responded it was evident that Cleveland led the race.

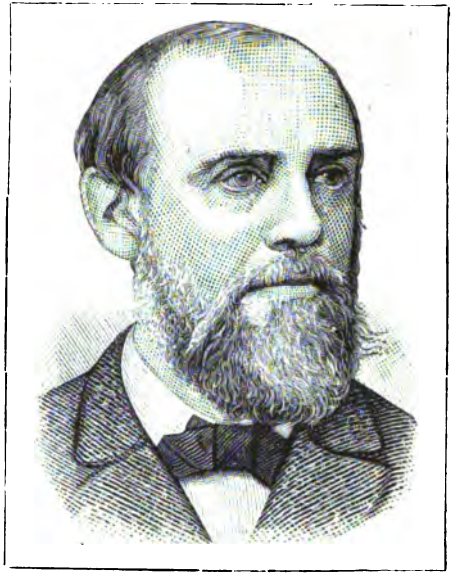
SECOND BALLOT.

States and Territories.	Cleveland.	McDonald.	Bayard.	Thurman.	Hendricks.	Randall.	Totals.
Alabama	5	1	14				20
Arkansas,	14						14
California,	16						16
Colorado,	6						6
Connecticut	12						12
Delaware,			6				6
Florida,	8						8
Georgia,	22		2				24
Illinois,	43	1					44
Indiana,	30						30
Iowa,	26						26
Kansas,	17		1				18
Kentucky,	4		21	1			26
Louisiana,	15			1			16
Maine,	12						12
Maryland,	16						16
Massachusetts,	8		7½		12½		28
Michigan,	23				3		26
Minnesota,	14						14
Mississippi,	2		14		2		18
Missouri,	32						32
Nebraska,	9		1				10
Nevada,				1	5		6
New Hampshire,	8						8
New Jersey,	5		2		11		18
New York,	72						72
North Carolina,	22						22
Ohio	46						46
Oregon,	6						6
Pennsylvania,	42		2	1	11	4	60
Rhode Island,	7		1				8
South Carolina,	10		8				18
Tennessee,	24						24
Texas,	26						26
Vermont,	8						8
Virginia,	23				1		24
West Virginia,	10		2				12
Wisconsin,	22						22
Arizona,	2						2
Dakota,	2						2
Idaho,	2						2
Montana,	2						2
New Mexico,	2						2
Utah,	2						2
Washington,	2						2
Wyoming,	2						2
District of Columbia,	2						2
Totals,	683	2	81½	4	45½	4	820

Necessary for a choice, 547.



JOHN G. CARLISLE.



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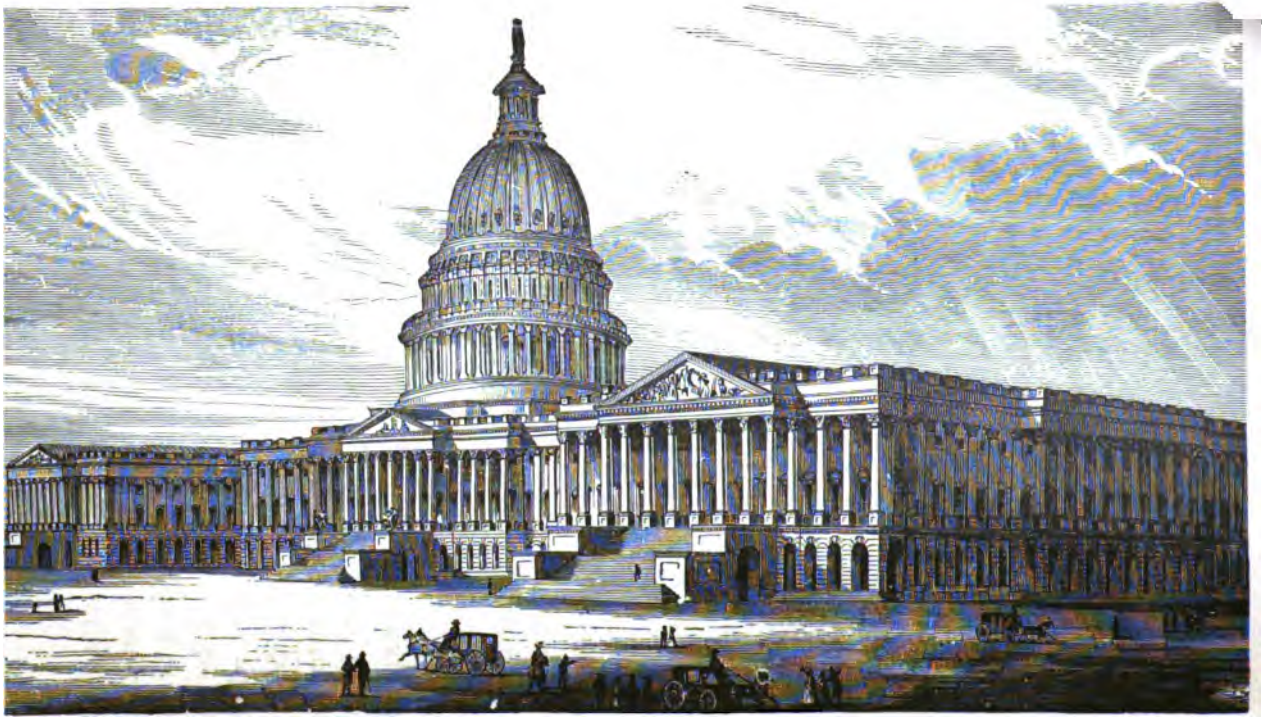
MADE UNANIMOUS.

A motion was next made to make the nomination unanimous, and it was carried triumphantly. Then the mammoth oil painting representation of Cleveland's head and bust was carried in front of the speaker's stand and exhibited to the enthusiastic spectators, who greeted it with cheers and whistling and the waving of everything that could be put into requisition for that purpose, while the band was playing "Marching Through Georgia," "The Red, White, and Blue," and other airs. After order was restored the Chair announced that the motion to make the nomination unanimous having been carried, Grover Cleveland was declared the nominee of the National Democracy for the next Presidency of the United States. [Cheers.] A dispatch was read from Governor Hoadly, congratulating the Convention, the Democracy, and the country on the wise thing done, and promising a Democratic victory in Ohio in October and November next.

The Convention at 1.25 took a recess until 5 P. M. Upon reassembling several parties were put in nomination for the Vice-Presidency, but one after the other the candidates were withdrawn, until only Hendricks was left. People could not cheer enough. The call of the roll gave Hendricks every vote in the Convention.

The scene which ensued was beyond description. Almost every one in the immense hall rose to his

feet and swung his hat and cheered. The standards of New York and Indiana were torn from their fastenings and borne to the spaces in front of the chair. These were soon speedily followed by the standards of the other States until the whole thirty-eight were held aloft together. Then began a march about the hall, delegates falling into line with arms about each other. The bands in the music gallery were turned on and a scene exceeding anything known to the late Republican Convention was enacted. It was a vivid reminder of the incidents following the Garfield nomination four years ago. As the procession moved a thousand voices with the band accompaniment started "Auld Lang Syne," and other thousands, with ladies all over the hall, took up the chorus. New York and Indiana were saluted by the procession of States as it went around. The Cleveland men were delighted with the result and showed it. The Indiana men became enthusiastic and joined the enthusiastic shouters. The chorus was changed from "Auld Lang Syne" to "Sweet Home." The Convention had done its work and the people were glad to get away.



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CHAPTER III.

THE PLATFORM.

OF course a platform must be laid on which the party is to stand in a figurative sense, and from which the orators are to declaim in favor of their respective leaders. The platform of the Democratic Convention was fully discussed and finally adopted as follows:

THE PLATFORM.

The Democratic party of the Union, through its representatives in national convention assembled, recognizes that, as the nation grows older, new issues are born of time and progress and old issues perish. But the fundamental principles of the Democracy, approved by the united voice of the people, remain, and will ever remain, as the best and only security for the continuance of free government. The preservation of personal rights, the equality of all citizens before the law, the reserved rights of the States and the supremacy of the Federal Government within the limits of the Constitution, will ever form the true basis of our liberties and can never be surrendered without destroying that balance of rights and powers which enables a continent to be developed in peace and social order to be maintained by means of local self-government. But it is indispensable for the practical operation and enforcement of these fundamental principles that the Government should not always be controlled by one political power. Frequent change of administration is as

necessary as constant recurrence to the popular will. Otherwise abuses grow and the Government, instead of being carried on for the general welfare, becomes an instrumentality for imposing heavy burdens on the many who are governed for the benefit of the few who govern. Public servants thus become arbitrary rulers.

A CHANGE DEMANDED.

This is now the condition of the country, hence a change is demanded. The Republican party, so far as principle is concerned, is a reminiscence. In practice it is an organization for enriching those who control its machinery. The frauds and jobbery which have been brought to light in every department of the Government are sufficient to have called for reform within the Republican party, yet those in authority, made reckless by the long possession of power, have succumbed to its corrupting influence and have placed in nomination a ticket against which the independent portion of the party are in open revolt.

Therefore a change is demanded. Such a change was alike necessary in 1876, but the will of the people was then defeated by a fraud which can never be forgotten nor condoned. Again in 1880 the change demanded by the people was defeated by the lavish use of money contributed by unscrupulous contractors and shameless jobbers who had bargained for unlawful profits or for high office.

REPUBLICAN FAILURES.

The Republican party, during its legal, its stolen, and its bought tenures of power, has steadily decayed in moral character and political capacity. Its platform promises are now a list of its past failures. It demands the restoration of our navy; it has squandered hundreds of millions to create a navy that does not exist. It calls upon Congress to remove the burdens under which American shipping has been depressed; it imposed and has continued those burdens. It professes the policy of reserving the public lands for small

holdings by actual settlers; it has given away the people's heritage till now a few railroads and non-resident aliens, individual and corporate, possess a larger area than that of all our farms between the two seas. It professes a preference for free institutions; it organized and tried to legalize a control of State elections by Federal troops. It professes a desire to elevate labor; it has subjected American workingmen to the competition of convict and imported contract labor. It professes gratitude to all who were disabled or died in the war, leaving widows and orphans; it left to a Democratic House of Representatives the first effort to equalize both bounties and pensions. It proffers a pledge to correct the irregularities of our tariff; it created and has continued them. Its own Tariff Commission confessed the need of more than twenty per cent. reduction; its Congress gave a reduction of less than four per cent. It professes the protection of American manufactures; it has subjected them to an increasing flood of manufactured goods and a hopeless competition with manufacturing nations, not one of which taxes raw materials. It professes to protect all American industries; it has impoverished many to subsidize a few. It professes the protection of American labor; it has depleted the returns of American agriculture, an industry followed by half of our people. It professes the equality of men before the law; attempting to fix the status of colored citizens, the acts of its Congress were overset by the decisions of its Court. It "accepts anew the duty of leading in the work of progress and reform;" its caught criminals are permitted to escape through continued delays or actual connivance in the prosecution.

Honeycombed with corruption, outbreaking exposures no longer shock its moral sense. Its honest members, its independent journals, no longer maintain a successful contest for authority in its counsels or a veto upon bad nominations.

That change is necessary is proved by an existing surplus of more than one hundred million dollars, which has yearly been collected from a suffering people. Unnecessary taxa-

tion is unjust taxation. We denounce the Republican party for having failed to relieve the people from crushing war taxes, which have paralyzed business, crippled industry, and deprived labor of employment and of just reward.

REDUCING TAXATION.

The Democracy pledges itself to purify the Administration from corruption, to restore economy, to revive respect for law, and to reduce taxation to the lowest limit consistent with due regard to the preservation of the faith of the nation to its creditors and pensioners. Knowing full well, however, that legislation affecting the occupations of the people should be cautious and conservative in method, not in advance of public opinion, but responsive to its demands, the Democratic party is pledged to revise the tariff in a spirit of fairness to all interests. But in making reduction in taxes it is not proposed to injure any domestic industries, but rather to promote their healthy growth. From the foundation of this Government taxes collected at the Custom House have been the chief source of Federal revenue; such they must continue to be. Moreover, many industries have come to rely upon legislation for successful continuance, so that any change of law must be at every step regardful of the labor and capital thus involved. The process of reform must be subject in the execution to this plain dictate of justice.

LABOR MUST BE PROTECTED.

All taxation shall be limited to the requirements of economical government. The necessary reduction in taxation can and must be effected without depriving American labor of the ability to compete successfully with foreign labor and without imposing lower rates of duty than will be ample to cover any increased cost of production which may exist in consequence of the higher rate of wages prevailing in this country. Sufficient revenue to pay all the expenses of the Federal Government economically administered, including pensions, interest, and principal of the public debt, can be got under our present

system of taxation from Custom-House taxes on fewer imported articles, bearing heaviest on articles of luxury and bearing lightest on articles of necessity.

We therefore denounce the abuses of the existing tariff, and subject to the preceding limitations we demand that Federal taxation shall be exclusively for public purposes and shall not exceed the needs of the Government economically administered.

The system of direct taxation, known as the "internal revenue," is a war tax, and so long as the law continues the money derived therefrom should be sacredly devoted to the relief of the people from the remaining burdens of the war, and be made a fund to defray the expense of the care and comfort of worthy soldiers disabled in the line of duty in the wars of the Republic, and for the payment of such pensions as Congress may, from time to time, grant to such soldiers, a like fund for the sailors having been already provided; and any surplus should be paid into the Treasury.

A CONTINENTAL POLICY.

We favor an American continental policy based upon more intimate commercial and political relations with the fifteen sister Republics of North, Central, and South America, but entangling alliances with none.

We believe in honest money, the gold and silver coinage of the Constitution, and a circulating medium convertible into such money without loss.

Asserting the equality of all men before the law, we hold that it is the duty of the Government, in its dealings with the people, to mete out equal and exact justice to all citizens of whatever nativity, race, color, or persuasion, religious or political.

We believe in a free ballot and a fair count, and we recall to the memory of the people the noble struggle of the Democrats in the Forty-fifth and Forty-sixth Congresses, by which a reluctant Republican opposition was compelled to assent to legislation making everywhere illegal the presence of troops

at the polls, as the conclusive proof that a Democratic Administration will preserve liberty with order.

The selection of Federal officers for the Territories should be restricted to citizens previously resident therein.

We oppose sumptuary laws which vex the citizen and interfere with individual liberty; we favor honest civil service reforms and the compensation of all United States officers by fixed salaries; the separation of Church and State, and the diffusion of free education by common schools, so that every child in the land may be taught the rights and duties of citizenship.

While we favor all legislation which will tend to the equitable distribution of property, to the prevention of monopoly and to strict enforcement of individual rights against corporate abuses, we hold that the welfare of society depends upon a scrupulous regard for the rights of property as defined by law. We believe that labor is best rewarded where it is freest and most enlightened. It should therefore be fostered and cherished. We favor the repeal of all laws restricting the free action of labor, and the enactment of laws by which labor organizations may be incorporated, and of all such legislation as will tend to enlighten the people as to the true relation of capital and labor.

LAND GRANTS.

We believe that the public land ought as far as possible to be kept as homesteads for actual settlers; that all unearned lands heretofore improvidently granted to railroad corporations by the action of the Republican party should be restored to the public domain, and that no more grants of land shall be made to corporations or to be allowed to fall into the ownership of alien absentees.

We are opposed to all propositions which, upon any pretext, would convert the General Government into a machine for collecting taxes to be distributed among the States or the citizens thereof.

In reaffirming the declarations of the Democratic platform of 1856, that "the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence and sanctioned in the Constitution, which make ours the land of liberty and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the Democratic faith," we nevertheless do not sanction the importation of foreign labor or the admission of servile races unfitted by habits, training, religion or kindred for absorption into the great body of our people or for the citizenship which our laws confer. American civilization demands that against the immigration or importation of Mongolians to these shores our gates be closed.

FOREIGN POLICY.

The Democratic party insists that it is the duty of the Government to protect with equal fidelity and vigilance the rights of its citizens, native and naturalized, at home and abroad, and to the end that this protection may be assured United States papers of naturalization issued by courts of competent jurisdiction must be respected by the executive and legislative departments of our own Government and by all foreign powers. It is an imperative duty of this Government to efficiently protect all the rights of persons and property of every American citizen in foreign lands, and demand and enforce full reparation for any invasion thereof. An American citizen is only responsible to his own Government for any act done in his own country or under her flag, and can only be tried therefor on her own soil and according to her laws, and no power exists in this Government to expatriate an American citizen to be tried in any foreign land for any such act.

This country has never had a well-defined and executed foreign policy save under Democratic administration. That policy has ever been in regard to foreign nations, so long as they do not act detrimental to the interests of the country or hurtful to our citizens, to let them alone; that as the result of this policy we recall the acquisition of Louisiana, Florida,

California, and of the adjacent Mexican territory by purchase alone, and contrast these grand acquisitions of Democratic statesmanship with the purchase of Alaska, the sole fruit of a Republican administration of nearly a quarter of a century.

The Federal Government should care for and improve the Mississippi River and other great waterways of the Republic so as to secure for the interior States easy and cheap transportation to tidewater.

AN AMERICAN POLICY DEMANDED.

Under a long period of Democratic rule and policy our merchant marine was fast overtaking and on the point of outstripping that of Great Britain. Under twenty years of Republican rule and policy our commerce has been left to British bottoms and almost has the American flag been swept off the high seas. Instead of the Republican party's British policy we demand for the people of the United States an American policy. Under Democratic rule and policy our merchants and sailors, flying the Stars and Stripes in every port, successfully searched out a market for the varied products of American industry; under a quarter of a century of Republican rule and policy, despite our manifest advantages over all other nations in high paid labor, favorable climates, and teeming soils, despite freedom of trade among all these United States, despite their population by the foremost races of men and an annual immigration of the young, thrifty, and adventurous of all nations, despite our freedom here from the inherited burdens of life and industry in old world monarchies, their costly war navies, their vast tax-consuming, non-producing standing armies, despite twenty years of peace, that Republican rule and policy have managed to surrender to Great Britain along with our commerce the control of the markets of the world.

Instead of the Republican party's British policy we demand, in behalf of the American Democracy, an American policy. Instead of the Republican party's discredited scheme

and false pretence of friendship for American labor, expressed by imposing taxes, we demand in behalf of the Democracy, freedom for American labor by reducing taxes to the end that these United States may compete with unhindered powers for the primacy among nations in all the arts of peace and fruits of liberty.

TILDEN.

With profound regret we have been apprised by the venerable statesman through whose person was struck that blow at the vital principle of Republics—acquiescence in the will of the majority—that he cannot permit us again to place in his hands the leadership of the Democratic hosts for the reason that the achievement of reform in the Administration of the Federal Government is an undertaking now too heavy for his age and failing strength. Rejoicing that his life has been prolonged until the general judgment of our fellow-countrymen is united in the wish that wrong were righted in his person, for the Democracy of the United States we offer to him in his withdrawal from public cares not only our respectful sympathy and esteem, but also that best homage of freemen—the pledge of our devotion to the principles and the cause now inseparable in the history of the Republic from the labors and the name of Samuel J. Tilden.

With this statement of the hopes, principles, and purposes of the Democratic party, the great issue of reform and change in administration is submitted to the people in calm confidence that the popular voice will pronounce in favor of new men and new and more favorable conditions for the growth of industry, the extension of trade, the employment and due reward of labor and of capital and the general welfare of the whole country.

After the above was presented by Mr. Morrison, Chairman of the Committe on Platform, "Ben" Butler presented and spoke upon a minority

report from himself alone. It was not accepted, but the platform as presented by the majority of the committee was approved, on a vote of 714½ to 97½, amid great applause. Butler's rejected plank was as follows:

Resolved, That no taxes, direct or indirect, can be rightfully imposed upon the people except to meet the expenses of an economically administered Government. To bring taxation down to this point is true administrative revenue reform. The people will tolerate direct taxation for the ordinary expenses of the Government only in case of dire necessity or war, therefore the revenue necessary for such expenses should be raised by customs duties upon imports after the manner of our fathers. In levying such taxes two principles should be carefully observed: First, that all materials used in the arts and manufactures and the necessaries of life not produced in this country shall come free, and that all articles of luxury should be taxed as high as possible up to the collection point; second, that in imposing customs duties the law must be carefully adjusted to promote American enterprise and industries, not to create monopolies, and to cherish and foster American labor.

PRINCIPLES

OF THE

DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

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CHAPTER I.

THE PRINCIPLES OF WASHINGTON.

WASHINGTON lived before the days of party politics. He exemplified his principles by his conduct, whether at the head of the army or of the civil Administration. He had studied well the principles of free governments in former ages and was well grounded in the faith. In his Farewell Address to the American people he left a legacy any party might well be proud of. Not because he was at the head of a so-called Democratic or Republican or any party, but because the few fundamental principles upon which rested the perpetuity of the Union which he announced have always been a part of the faith of the Democracy, does it become appropriate here to insert those principles. No person can be a sound Democrat who cannot give unqualified assent to them. In substance he announced the following principles:

"The union of the government is the main pillar in the edifice of our real independence: the support of our tranquillity at home, our peace abroad; of our safety and our prosperity, yea, of the very liberty all so highly prize."

He warned his countrymen that from different causes and from different quarters great pains would be taken (as was the case three-quarters of a century after that), and many artifices would be employed to weaken in the minds of the people the conviction of this great truth. He told them that this was a point in their political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies would most constantly and most actively, though covertly and insidiously, direct their assaults.

He entreated them to cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to the Union, accustoming them to think and speak of it as the palladium of their political safety and prosperity, watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety, discountenancing whatever might even suggest a suspicion that it could in any event be abandoned, and indignantly frown upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our countrymen from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which link together the various parts of our common country.

Whether he called himself a Democrat or not makes no difference, this principle of cherishing

an absolute devotion to the existence of the Union under one form of government is a sacred Democratic principle that must be subscribed to by every citizen of this great Republic who aspires to be called an American Democrat. It is because Democrats have ever entertained the same convictions and (save by the men who called themselves Democrats, but had forgotten or disregarded the warning voice of Washington, and went into a rebellion against the Government, thereby seeking to destroy the Union) have ever been true to these principles, and above all other parties most profoundly impressed with the truth of this doctrine, that many of the most thoughtful men have ever been Democrats.

Washington sought by most cogent arguments to impress upon his countrymen that all parts of the country, North, South, East, and West, had a common destiny and a common interest in the general welfare of every other section, and because each added strength and security to the other, and in this sense the Union was the main prop of our liberties, so that the love for one should endear to the people the preservation of the other, and thus become the primary object of patriotic desire.

Democrats believe all this; and though the party itself became distracted and many of its adherents were dragged into a rebellion, still, so soon as military force was overcome and the conviction

of the mind could be freely exercised, even those again became as ardently attached to the Union as any other portion of our people, and since the close of the war have sought, by every means within their power, to bring together and bind more closely the whole people of this Union in the bonds of a fraternal brotherhood of States.

Washington warned his countrymen against sectionalism. He cautioned them that designing men, as they ever have, would endeavor to excite a belief that there was a real difference of local interests and views. He said one of the expedients of partyisms would be to acquire influence in one particular section by misrepresenting the opinions and aims of another section, and that they could not shield themselves too much against the jealousies and heart-burnings aroused by these misrepresentations, tending to alienate the sections from each other instead of binding them more closely together with fraternal regard and affection, bringing about the opposite result. It is because we have seen the Democratic party endeavoring by every possible means in its power to inculcate these same great truths, while its opponents have conducted themselves toward one section precisely in the way and manner suggested by Washington men would, that they are forced to be Democrats when true to their convictions of right.

He cautioned his countrymen against heaping

up public debts for posterity to pay, thus ungenerously throwing upon them burdens which we ourselves should pay. This whole business of bonded indebtedness is undemocratic and ought not to be indulged in if by any means it can be avoided. It is true that men calling themselves Democrats have been led astray by the plausible arguments of those who regarded "public debts as public blessings," still the Democratic party, as such, has ever denounced the practice, and because they have always coincided with him in this particular they are Democrats.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence, he conjured his fellow-citizens, their jealousy ought to be constantly awake. Numerous opportunities would be offered, he said, to tamper with domestic factions, to practice the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence public councils.

No attachment, therefore, for one nation to the exclusion of another should be tolerated.

Such conduct would lead to concessions to one nation and denials of privileges to others, and would invite a multitude of evils upon us.

It is because this has been a fundamental principle of the Democratic party, who most heartily believe in the doctrine, hence they are Democrats.

Washington also advised his countrymen to resist with care the spirit of innovation upon the principles on which the Government was founded,

however specious the pretext might be. One method of assault would be, he said, to effect under the forms of the Constitution alterations which would impair the whole system. It is because the Democratic party, impressed by the truth of these teachings of Washington, has opposed the numerous amendments constantly being proposed that they are Democrats, believing that in this they adhere more strictly to the teachings of Washington than any other party.

CHAPTER II.

THE PRINCIPLES OF JEFFERSON.

ALTHOUGH in his time not called "a Democrat," yet the leader of what was then known as the Republican party, contending against the Federal, or strong government party, Thomas Jefferson was perhaps one of the best expounders of those principles now held by the Democratic party among all of those Revolutionary sages.

In his writings and official messages as President we find the most frequent allusions to and rigid application of them in the administration of public affairs, so that he has been called "the father of the Democratic party." It was pecu-

liarly appropriate that he should do so, because, though early in the history of our Government yet, anti-democratic principles were already slowly creeping into the administration of public affairs under the Administration of the elder Adams, so that it required vigorous opposition and determined application to bring the Government back once more to be administered in accordance with those pure principles of a representative democratic government.

In his inaugural address, delivered to Congress on March 4th, 1801, the commencement as well of a new century as of a new era in our government, President Jefferson announced the following fundamental doctrines of democracy, which, he said, he deemed essential principles of our Government, which should guide him in its administration. He compressed them within the smallest possible compass, stating only the general principles, but not all their limitations:

First. Equal and exact justice to all men of whatever State or persuasion, religious or political.

Second. Peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations; entangling alliance with none.

Third. The support of the State governments in all their rights as the most competent administrators of our domestic concerns and the surest bulwarks against anti-republican tendencies.

Fourth. The preservation of the General Government in its whole constitutional vigor as the sheet anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad.

Fifth. A jealous care of the right of election by the people, a mild and safe corrective of abuses, which are lopped by the sword of revolution where peaceable means are unprovided.

Sixth. Absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority, the vital principles of republics, from which is no appeal but to force, the vital principle and immediate parent of despotism.

Seventh. A well-disciplined militia, our best reliance in peace, and for the first moments of war, till regulars may relieve them.

Eighth. The supremacy of the civil over the military authority.

Ninth. Economy in the public expenses, that labor may be lightly burdened.

Tenth. The honest payment of our debts and the sacred preservation of the public faith.

Eleventh. Encouragement of agriculture and of commerce as its handmaid.

Twelfth. The diffusion of information and arraignment of all abuses at the bar of public reason.

Thirteenth. Freedom of religion.

Fourteenth. Freedom of the press.

Fifteenth. Freedom of the person under the protection of the habeas corpus.

Sixteenth. Trial by juries impartially selected.

"These principles," said Jefferson, "form the bright constellation which has gone before us and guided our steps through the age of revolution and reformation. The wisdom of our sages and the blood of our heroes have been devoted to their attainment. They should be the creed of our political faith, the text of civic instruction, the touchstone by which to try the services of those we trust; and should we wander from them in moments of error or alarm, let us hasten to retrace our steps and to regain the road which alone leads to peace, liberty, and safety."

It is because Democrats believe every one of those fundamental principles to be true that they are Democrats.

CHAPTER III.

THE PRINCIPLES OF MADISON.

DEMOCRATS believe in a full, unequivocal, and hearty support of the Constitution, in a strict construction of it, and in the spirit and the purpose for which it was formed, and in Madison, also, who took such a deep interest in its formation as to be called "the father of the Constitution," they have another exponent of sound Democratic principles.

He knew well the principles on which that Constitution was founded. He had studied the rise, progress, decay, and fall, of every free government which had gone before, and, profiting by the very misfortunes of other nations, he had secured in the adoption of our Constitution such principles as he fondly believed would prevent us as a people from falling into similar errors. Standing upon the threshold of his great office as President of the United States, succeeding Jefferson, he announced the following as additional principles vital to the welfare of the American people in their intercourse with foreign nations. They were in part but the echoes which came from the lips of Washington and Jefferson and became the policy of the Democratic party ever since. He announced them as follows:

First. To cherish peace and friendly intercourse with all nations having a corresponding disposition.

Second. To maintain sincere neutrality toward belligerent nations.

Third. To prefer in all cases amicable discussions and reasonable accommodation of differences to a decision of them by an appeal to arms.

Fourth. To exclude foreign intrigues and foreign partialities, so degrading to all countries and so baneful to free ones.

Fifth. To foster a spirit of independence, too just to invade the rights of others, too proud to

surrender our own, too liberal to indulge unworthy prejudices ourselves, and too elevated not to look down upon them in others.

Sixth. To hold the Union of the States as the basis of their peace and happiness.

Seventh. To support the Constitution, which is the cement of the Union, as well in its limitations as in its authorities.

Eighth. To respect the rights and authorities reserved to the States and the people as equally incorporated with and essential to the success of the general system.

Ninth. To avoid the slightest interferences with the rights of conscience or the functions of religion, so wisely exempted from civil jurisdiction.

Tenth. To preserve in their full energy the salutary provisions in behalf of private and personal rights and the freedom of the press.

Eleventh. To observe economy in public expenditures.

Twelfth. To liberate public resources by an honorable discharge of the public debts.

Thirteenth. To keep within the requisite limits a standing military force, always remembering that an armed and trained militia is the firmest bulwark of republics.

Fourteenth. That without standing armies, their liberties can never be in danger, nor with large ones, safe.

Fifteenth. To promote, by authorized means,

improvements friendly to agriculture, to commerce to manufactures, and to external as well as internal commerce.

Sixteenth. To favor, in like manner, the advancement of science and diffusion of information as the best aliment of true liberty.

Seventeenth. To carry on benevolent plans for the conversion of our aboriginal neighbors from the degradation and wretchedness of savage life to a participation of the improvements of which the human mind and manners are susceptible in a civilized state.

In one of his messages he also laid down the principle that a well-instructed people alone can be permanently free, all of which Democrats devoutly believe.

CHAPTER IV.

THE PRINCIPLES OF JACKSON.

IN the principles of Andrew Jackson the Democracy take great pride. From his inaugural address, on March 4th, A. D. 1829, to the close of his Administration of eight years, in every message to Congress he uttered Democratic sentiments in a terse, vigorous style, which, on account of their self-evident truth, deeply rooted themselves in American hearts and became the

principles of the Democratic party, which during his Administration first took that name and which it has held ever since. They are found scattered all through his messages, and were his guide in deciding all questions of national policy, so many of which pressed themselves upon him during his term of office. From these the following may be selected and placed in order, which should be thoroughly studied and applied to all questions which may even now arise.

First. He said: "Regard should be had for the rights of the several States, taking care not to confound the powers reserved to them with those they had in the Constitution granted to the General Government.

Second. In every aspect of the case advantage must result from strict and faithful economy in the administration of public affairs.

Third. He declared the unnecessary duration of the public debt incompatible with real independence.

Fourth. In the adjustment of a tariff for revenue, he insisted that a spirit of equity, caution, and compromise requires the great interests of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce to be equally favored.

Fifth. He admitted the policy of internal improvements to be wise only in so far as they could be promoted by constitutional acts of the General Government.

Sixth. He declared standing armies to be dangerous to free government, and that the military should be in strict subordination to the civil power.

Seventh. He declared the national militia to be the bulwark of our national defense. In enforcing this principle, he declared that so long as the Government was administered for the good of the people and regulated by their will; so long as it secured to the people the rights of person and of property, liberty of conscience and of the press, the Government would be worth defending, and so long as it was worth defending the patriotic militia would cover it with an impenetrable *ægis.*

Eighth. He pledged himself to the work of reform in the Administration, so that the patronage of the General Government, which had been brought into conflict with the freedom of elections and had disturbed the rightful course of appointments by continuing in power unfaithful and incompetent public servants, should no longer be used for that purpose.

Ninth. He declared his belief in the principle that the integrity and zeal of public officers would advance the interests of the public service more than mere numbers.

Tenth. He declared the right of the *people* to elect a President, and that it was never designed that their choice should in any case be defeated by the intervention of agents, enforcing this principle by saying, what experience had amply

proved, that in proportion as agents were multiplied to execute the will of the people, there was the danger increased that their wishes would be frustrated. Some *may be* unfaithful—all liable to err. So far, then, as the people were concerned it was better for them to express their own will.

Eleventh. The *majority* should govern. No President elected by a minority could so successfully discharge his duties as he who knew he was supported by the majority of the people.

Twelfth. He advocated *rotation* in *office.* Corruption, he said, would spring up among those in power, and therefore he thought appointments should not be made for a longer period than four years. Everybody had equal right to office, and he favored removals as a leading principle which would give healthful action to the political system.

Thirteenth. He advocated unfettered commerce, free from restrictive tariff laws, leaving it to flow into those natural channels in which individual enterprise, always the surest and safest guide, might direct it.

Fourteenth. He opposed specific tariffs, because subject to frequent changes, generally produced by selfish motives, and under such influences could never be just and equal.

Fifteenth. The proper fostering of manufactures and commerce tended to increase the value of agricultural products.

Sixteenth. In cases of real doubt as to matters of mere public policy he advocated a direct appeal to the people, the source of all power, as the most sacred of all obligations and the wisest and most safe course to pursue.

Seventeenth. He advocated a just and equitable bankrupt law as beneficial to the country at large, because after the means to discharge debts had entirely been exhausted, not to discharge them only served to dispirit the debtor, sink him into a state of apathy, make him a useless drone in society, or a vicious member of it, if not a feeling witness of the rigor and inhumanity of his country. Oppressive debt being the bane of enterprise it should be the care of the Republic not to exert a grinding power over misfortune and poverty.

Eighteenth. He declared in favor of the principle that no money should be expended until first appropriated for the purpose by the Legislature. The people paid the taxes, and their direct representatives should alone have the right to say what they should be taxed for, in what sums, and how and when it should be paid.

Nineteenth. He utterly opposed the system of Government aiding private corporations in making internal improvements. It was deceptive and conducive of improvidence in the expenditure of public moneys. For this purpose appropriations could be obtained with greater facilities, granted

with inadequate security, and frequently complicated the administration of Government.

Twentieth. The operations of the General Government should be strictly confined to the few simple but important objects for which it was originally designed.

Twenty-first. He favored the veto power in the Executive, *but only* to be exercised in cases of attempted violation of the Constitution, or in cases next to it in importance.

Twenty-second. He advocated State rights as far as consistent with the rightful action of the General Government as the very best means of preserving harmony between them; and pronounced this the true faith, and the one to which might be mainly attributed the success of the entire system, and to which alone we must look for stability in it.

Twenty-third. He advocated "a uniform and sound currency," but doubted the constitutionality and expediency of a National Bank; and afterwards made his Administration famous by successfully opposing the renewal of its charter.

Twenty-fourth. Precious metals as the only currency known to the Constitution. Their peculiar properties rendered them the standard of values in other countries, and had been adopted in this. The experience of the evils of paper money had made it so obnoxious in the past that the framers of the Constitution had forbidden its adoption as the legal-tender currency of the country.

Variableness must ever be the characteristic of a currency not based upon those metals. Expansion and contraction, without regard to principles which regulate the value of those metals as a standard in the general trade of the world, were, he said, extremely pernicious.

Where these properties are not infused into the circulation, and do not control it, prices must vary according to the tide of the issue; the value and stability of property exposed, uncertainty attend the administration of institutions constantly liable to temptations of an interest distinct from that of the community at large, all this attended by loss to the laboring class, who have neither time nor opportunity to watch the ebb and flow of the money market.

Twenty-fifth. He renews his advocacy of a cheerful compliance with the will of the majority; and the exercise of the power as expressed in a spirit of moderation, justice and brotherly kindness as the best means to cement and forever preserve the Union. Those, he closes, who advocate sentiments adverse to those expressed, however honest, are, in effect, the worst enemies of their country.

CHAPTER V.

THE PRINCIPLE OF STATE RIGHTS.

THE rights of the States under our Federal Constitution has long been a question discussed on which great differences of opinion have arisen, even within the Democratic party itself. The view held by Andrew Jackson is the one always prevailing in National Conventions, the only body having power to settle the question for the whole party, viz.: that the General Government is one of expressly *granted* powers, in the exercise of which it is supreme; that these powers, faithfully and vigorously carried out, are necessary to the general welfare of the whole; that all powers not expressly granted in the Constitution to the Federal Government, in the language of that instrument itself, are reserved to the States and to the people.

The Republican party at the time of its organization planted itself on this doctrine; and in their platform at Chicago, when Abraham Lincoln was first nominated for President, they passed the following resolution:

"*Fourth.* That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judg-

ment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends; and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as one of the gravest of crimes."

So thoroughly had this constitutional doctrine engrafted itself upon the public mind, found utterance in both of the great political parties and in their platforms, that it ought to have been acquiesced in by all.

The National Democratic party still adheres to that idea. It is unalterably fixed in its creed; but it has not appeared in the Republican party platform from that time down to the present, while the Democracy have reaffirmed the same upon every occasion. Ever since the days of Jackson's Administration has the question, in the Democratic party, of the right of secession been settled, so far as the power of a National party Convention could settle it. No matter what individual members of the party may have said, no matter what State and District Conventions may have declared on the subject, the National Convention only of a national party can settle national questions; and, therefore, "no matter how frothy orators may fret and fume and tear passion into tatters" over a "Secession Democracy," the record proves that it never was the doctrine of the National Democratic party.

The Republican party has frequently announced with a great flourish of trumpets that our Government was not a league, but a nation; but no true Jackson Democrat ever disputed that proposition as he understood its terms. Jackson, in his immortal proclamation, said:

"The Constitution of the United States, then, forms a Government, not a league; whether it be formed by compact between the States or otherwise, or in any other manner, its character is the same. It is a Government in which the *people* are represented, which operates directly on the people individually, not upon the State; they retain all the power they did not grant. But each State having expressly parted with so many powers as to constitute, jointly with the other States, a single nation, cannot from that period possess any right to secede, because such secession does not break a league, but destroys the unity of the nation; and any injury to that unity is not only a breach which would result from the contravention of a compact, but it is an offense against the whole Union. To say that any State may at pleasure secede from the Union is to say that the United States is not a nation; because it would be a solecism to contend that any part of a nation might dissolve its connection with the other part, to their injury and ruin, without committing any offense. Secession, like any other revolutionary act, may be morally justified by the extremity of oppres-

sion; but to call it a constitutional right is confounding the meaning of terms, and can only be done through gross error or to deceive those who are willing to assert a right, but would pause before they made a revolution or incur the penalties consequent on a failure." Herein is set forth in the plainest terms the principles adhered to by the great Democratic party of the country; and to charge the party with the errors, mistakes, and crimes of those who disregarded the teachings of their party is so grossly unjust that it needs no further refutation. It is because the Democracy have through all the past, through years of sectional madness and party strife, adhered in conscious integrity to those views that they have been denounced by enraged sectionalists North and South, until reason has been again enthroned, and the nation can see where they have stood all these years.

They constitute the only party which has a record upon this question, dating from its first inception to the present moment. Democrats opposed the New England secessionists who held the Hartford Convention in the interest of Northern nullification and secession. They opposed the South Carolina nullifiers at a later date, and have, as a great national organization, opposed the doctrine at all times, under all circumstances, and against all persons, no matter whether they claimed to be Democrats or not. But it may be

said that when the Rebellion was first organized a Democratic Administration did not do its duty to suppress it. President Buchanan, elected by Southern votes as well as Northern, denied the right of secession. He was a representative Democrat, and he said in his message of December, 1860: "This Government is a great and powerful Government invested with all the attributes of sovereignty over the subjects to which its authority extends. Its framers never intended to plant in its bosom the seeds of its own destruction, nor were they guilty of the absurdity of providing for its own dissolution. It was not intended by its framers to be the baseless fabric of a vision which at the touch of the enchanter would vanish in thin air, but a substantial and mighty fabric capable of resisting the slow decay of time and defying the storms of ages. * * * In short, let us look the danger fully in the face; secession is neither more nor less than revolution."

Thus it will be seen that at no time, even the most critical, have true National Democrats, either in National Conventions or by their Chief Executives, ever countenanced this heresy of secession. There is, therefore, no reason on this account why a man should not be a Democrat, because as such he is compelled to subscribe to the soundest plank ever put forth by either party in its platforms on the subject of the relation of the Federal to the State Governments. We are

Democrats because we believe in the doctrine held by the party on this most important question.

Fanaticism never stops to reason. Driven by honest impulses, it rushes to its object without regard to obstacles. So it was with the secession movement, and so it was with the political Abolitionists of the North. Driven on, they ceased not their agitation until the clash of arms came. Slavery went down, and now it becomes the duty of every patriot to repair the injury done by war, and place our institutions on even a more solid foundation than ever before. The disturbing cause is now removed, and it is time for sober reflection and intelligent action, so that we may preserve intact the Government our fathers transmitted to us, unimpaired, unchanged, and vigorous as it came from the hands of its founders. To do this, we conscientiously believe, the great Democratic party of the Union now offers the best means by which this can be done. It reaches out into every section of this great country; it stands united once more upon these grand principles of fraternal union, upon the basis of the Constitution, the just rights of the Federal Government undisputedly granted to it, while the reserved rights of the States are equally preserved to them. It is the only national party that can conciliate the angry sections and make this country what

the sages and heroes of the Revolution designed it should be, a sisterhood of States, a land of freedom, a home for the oppressed of all lands.

CHAPTER VI.

THE RIGHT OF COERCION.

IT has been said by some who have but poorly studied the formation of our Government that because Democrats opposed coercion before the Rebellion commenced, that therefore it was "a disloyal party," and the world *disloyal* is pronounced as if it were a horrible thing to hold the opinion so ably set forth by the Fathers of the Republic and by all sound constitutional lawyers and statesmen since then. Andrew Johnson, Senator from Tennessee, then applauded for his opinions, and the candidate of the Republican party for Vice-President in 1864, elected by them, and afterward President of the United States, held these views. He said in the Senate of the United States, on December 18th, 1860: "The Federal Government has no power to coerce a State, because by the eleventh amendment of the Constitution of the United States it is expressly provided that you cannot even put one of those States before the courts of the country as a party. As

a State, the Federal Government has no power to coerce it; but it is a member of the compact, to which it agreed with the other States, and this Government has the right to pass laws, and *to enforce those laws on individuals*, and it has the right and the power not to coerce a State, but to enforce and execute the law upon individuals within the limits of a State." This was the view held by Hon. John A. Logan, and by many who even now are members of the Republican party, and why should it be strange that Democrats announced those doctrines? They did not deny the duty and power of the Federal Government to enforce its laws at the point of the bayonet if resisted. President Buchanan, in his message to Congress on January 8th, A. D. 1861, says: "The dangerous and hostile attitude of the States toward each other has already far transcended and cast in the shade the ordinary executive duties already provided for by law, and has assumed such vast and alarming proportions as to place the subject entirely beyond *executive* control. The fact cannot be disguised that we are in the midst of a great revolution. In all its various bearings, therefore, I commend the question to Congress as the only human tribunal under Providence possessing the power to meet the existing emergency. To them exclusively belongs the power to declare war or to authorize the employment of the military force in all cases contemplated by the Constitution."

Congress might then have taken action. The Republican party had the power in both branches of Congress by reason of the secession of Southern Senators, who left the Republicans in control of the Senate, and they had held the House of Representatives before that event occurred. No person ever doubted the right and duty of Congress to pass laws to enable the President to defend the Union against armed rebellion. At this time the question of coercion had already passed away. The Southern States had seceded and taken forcible possession of public property, and had themselves become the assailants. To this Congress the President appealed to decide the question; but though the Republicans were in power in both branches, Congress shrunk from its duty. It might have been commendable had it desired to prevent the effusion of fraternal blood and restore the Union—perhaps it might have been their object—still, the duty of the hour confronted it and they shrunk from it. Had it promptly passed the bill to enable the President to call forth the militia or to accept the services of volunteers, as Lincoln did when Congress was *not* in session, it might complain; but it failed to do so, and is estopped from charging others with a want of vigor in this respect. Why, then, charge Democrats with dereliction of duty when its own chosen party legislative power was then assembled and failed to do that with which they would now blame the Dem-

ocracy? It was his duty to enforce the laws, theirs to pass them! Then how absurd to blame others for that which they were guilty of themselves! This, then, is a brief allusion to the subject of coercion and the exercise of military power to suppress the Rebellion, and there is nothing in it that any Democrat need blush to acknowledge. These charges are only made to divert the mind of the voter from the real questions at issue between the parties and can furnish no reason whatever why a man should not be a Democrat after more than twenty years have passed away, and almost a new generation has come upon the stage of action.

Rather should these sound views of the Constitution and convictions of patriotic duty in those trying days of our national peril induce men once more to rally under the flag of Democracy, and place in power those who have been thus true to the great principles of free institutions upon which our Government is founded. True Democrats believe this to be their duty.

CHAPTER VII.

THE FUTURE OF DEMOCRACY.

RECONCILIATION must take place. That these principles will finally triumph in the administration of our public affairs we can have no doubt. The progress our country has made under their benign influence, notwithstanding their interruption by the events occurring during the greatest civil war known in history, forshadows this.

No other policy will preserve the Union and the liberties of the people at the same time, and we believe both will be our heritage. The limits to which this principle of co-equal sovereign States, bound together in one National Government, under a Constitution of granted powers, can be extended, is scarcely conceivable. Each attending to its local concerns and domestic affairs, free from interference by the central or supreme Government, brings the power to govern the people home to their own firesides.

If dissatisfaction arises it can be remedied by themselves without disturbing the peace of the whole. It is emphatically the principle of local self-government in the States. They are alone responsible for their bad laws. They reap the blessings of good ones, while the great mass of

the people of the United States, now numbering over fifty millions, can go on with their enterprises developing the country and building up the great West—founding States, each possessing the same right to pass such laws as to them may seem best. As the country becomes enlarged, and population increases, the application of these principles becomes the more necessary. Then why not adopt them as the rule of our political action. Why demand a stronger government, as the Republicans do, when this is absolutely the stronger of the two.

Centralization must mean despotism. A government, to reach out to the verge of a mighty empire, must of necessity be centralized, powerful, and not depend upon the masses, but the military, for enforcing its requirements, or else its duties must be few and simple, and only concern national affairs, easily enforced, and felt as little as possible by the citizens of the country. This the Democracy want. Any other form will be a failure. Our present form of government is, therefore, the best ever devised by man, especially is it so, for the circumstances under which we find this country placed. A climate ranging from the rigorous winters of the extreme North, to almost the tropics of the South, has a variety of productions of the soil, and diversified interests to consider. No legislation could, under these manifold conditions, be generally acceptable. We

must have legislation by smaller districts. The whole people could not be sufficiently represented in one great national assembly. Therefore, of necessity, the great mass of our laws, in order to be satisfactory, must be remitted to the people in the States.

When Congress has regulated commerce with other nations, established a uniform rule of naturalization and bankruptcy, coined money and regulated the value thereof, declared war, in case of necessity, established posts-offices and post-roads, and exercised a few other powers, it has not only enough to do to occupy its time, but has exhausted all its powers granted under the Constitution. If these powers be wisely exercised, in such a manner as to bear with equal weight upon all, in no spirit of sectional superiority, there is no limit to the power of expansion under our system. Whatever makes men love their government makes it *strong;* especially is this true in a free government like ours.

If this system be adhered to, and the North and the South and the East and the West be made to love, respect and obey it, because of the blessings it brings to them, what may not the next hundred years in America witness? With a soil naturally productive in all sections of the country, mineral wealth stored away beneath it in abundance, lakes, rivers, and railroads affording abundant facilities to interchange products and manu-

factures with each other; the wants of one section supplied by another creating activity in trade, incentives to enterprise, stimulants to progress, where are to be found brighter prospects to a nation, if we are true to the principles on which our Government is founded, than here in this heaven favored land. But in order to continue our national prosperity and enjoy the full fruition of our hopes we must bury our sectional prejudices, and enforce the benign principles so patriotically announced by Washington when he took public leave of his countrymen. This reconciliation cannot be brought about by force. It is alike impossible that the bitter passions of the war period can long be continued, or that force and oppression or denunciation should bring about reconciliation. A beneficent providence has so constituted our natures that a violent degree of passion exercised in one direction is sooner or later followed by a re-action in the opposite direction. If this were not so, and as Everett said upon the brow of Cemetery Hill, at Gettysburg, where but a few months before had been turned back the rebel armies, and their success became impossible, "were hatred always returned by equal and still stronger feelings of hatred; if injuries inflicted always lead to still greater injuries by way of retaliation, and thus forever a compound of accumulated hatred, revenge, and retaliation were the result, then for thousands of years would

this world have been inhabited with demons only, and this earth have been a perfect hell. But this is not so; all history tells us it is not true."

The North and the South will and must be reconciled. The Democracy must do it. All must feel that they have a common interest, and a heritage under a common Government; and the *strength* of the government will be beyond calculation; but upon the other hand you station the military force of the Union in their towns and cities, place national supervisors of elections at their polls, send down your federal deputy marshals to arrest and imprison their people, distrusting their ability and patriotism to guard their elections against fraud and violence, and the generation is yet unborn that will see a perfect Union of those States. The great problem how to break down sectionalism North and South and so order affairs that parties shall not be divided by geographical lines, is still unsettled. What party is so well qualified to do this as the national Democratic party; who better calculated to do it than that organization under the guidance of its chosen leader, the hero of Gettysburg?

When Everett delivered his last great speech at Gettysburg in A. D. 1863, he did not know that he was predicting a parallel to the history recited in portraying the close of other rebellions. He brought to mind the fact that the War of the Roses in England had lasted thirty years, from 1455 to

1485. It was one of the fiercest civil wars known in history; eighty princes of the royal blood had lost their lives; and the families of the nobility almost annihilated. The strong feelings of affection which kindred families then bore for one another, and the vindictive spirit which that age of the world made it a point of honor to maintain, rendered the great families of England implacable enemies. But *at last* the titles of the two contending families were centered in one person. Henry VII went up from Bosworth field to mount the throne. He was received everywhere with joyous exclamations and regarded as one sent by Heaven to put an end to that terrible strife and give peace and prosperity to a distracted country.

Take the instance of another rebellion in England, lasting from 1620 to 1640, twenty years, ending suddenly with the return of Charles II. These again were twenty years of discord, of conflict, civil war, confiscation, plunder, havoc and destruction. A proud, hereditary peerage trampled in the dust; a national church overturned; its clergy beggared; its most eminent Prelate put to death; a military despotism established upon the ruins of a monarchy that had lasted seven hundred years, and its legitimate sovereign brought to the block. All this and more done to embitter and estrange a people, and madden and enrage contending factions, and yet these people were reconciled! Not by a gentle transition but suddenly

when the restoration had appeared most hopeless. The son of the beheaded monarch was brought back to his father's house and to his bloodstained throne amid such universal and inexpressible joy as led the merry monarch to exclaim, he doubted it was his own fault he had been so long absent, for there seemed to be no one who did not protest that he long since wished for his return.

God has ofttimes in a wonderful manner ended rebellions. It was hoped at one time that ours—by Sherman's agreement—would have ended as suddenly and as joyously; but those in authority did not so will it.

Take one more later instance, that of the French Revolution. It was a reign of terror understood by all. A blacker page of crime cannot be found in all history. Another church broken up, its clergy murdered; men slaughtered by boat-loads, and beheaded by machinery! A monarchy destroyed; a royal family extinguished, and their adherents exiled or beheaded. If the most deadly feud had the power permanently to alienate one portion of a people from another, surely here we have an example; but far otherwise was the fact. Napoleon brought order out of chaos; the Jacobins of France welcomed home the returning emigrants, and royalists whose estates they had confiscated and whose kindred they had brought to the guillotine.

After another turn of the wheel of fortune,

Louis XVIII was restored to his throne, and he took the regicide Fouche to his cabinet and to his confidence, though he had voted for the decree ordering his brother's death. So, too, should the dissensions in this country cease. It would have already been so had not base, designing men for their own selfish purposes, prevented it. But they cannot do it much longer. This Union must be restored. The great public heart yearns for it. The Sc[illegible] convention assembled with the North as [illegible] of peace and loyalty and good-will to the Northern soldiers, as they did to the civilians, with Horace Greeley, eight years ago, stands forth and says: Take the hero of your greatest battles; take him who turned back our hosts at Gettysburg; who, after the repeated assaults of Longstreet with the flower of the Southern army, scattered them as a chaff before the wind, and made it impossible to achieve our independence; take him whom our bullets have wounded; take him who, from the very nature of the case, suffered most in his own person by our acts; take him who has sympathy for his comrades in arms; but take him also, because, when the war was over, he gave us back our own local government; take him who was a patriot in war as well as a civilian, though a soldier, in peace, and we will obey the laws; we will be loyal to our common Government. Take him and let us have peace with you. Should we reject this propo-

sition? Should not the whole country welcome back those once in rebellion into the folds of a common nationality, and forever silence the distrust of sections?

Let us cast away this revengeful disposition; let the better principles of our nature do their work, and soon we shall see a nation of freemen rejoicing over the restoration of their Union, and the reconciliation of their difficulties, as none have ever rejoiced before. It is the know[illegible]e of these things, their importance to the [illegible] necessity that it shoul[illegible]plished, that impels Democrats to the task. They are Democrats because they *earnestly* desire to see this great result accomplished.

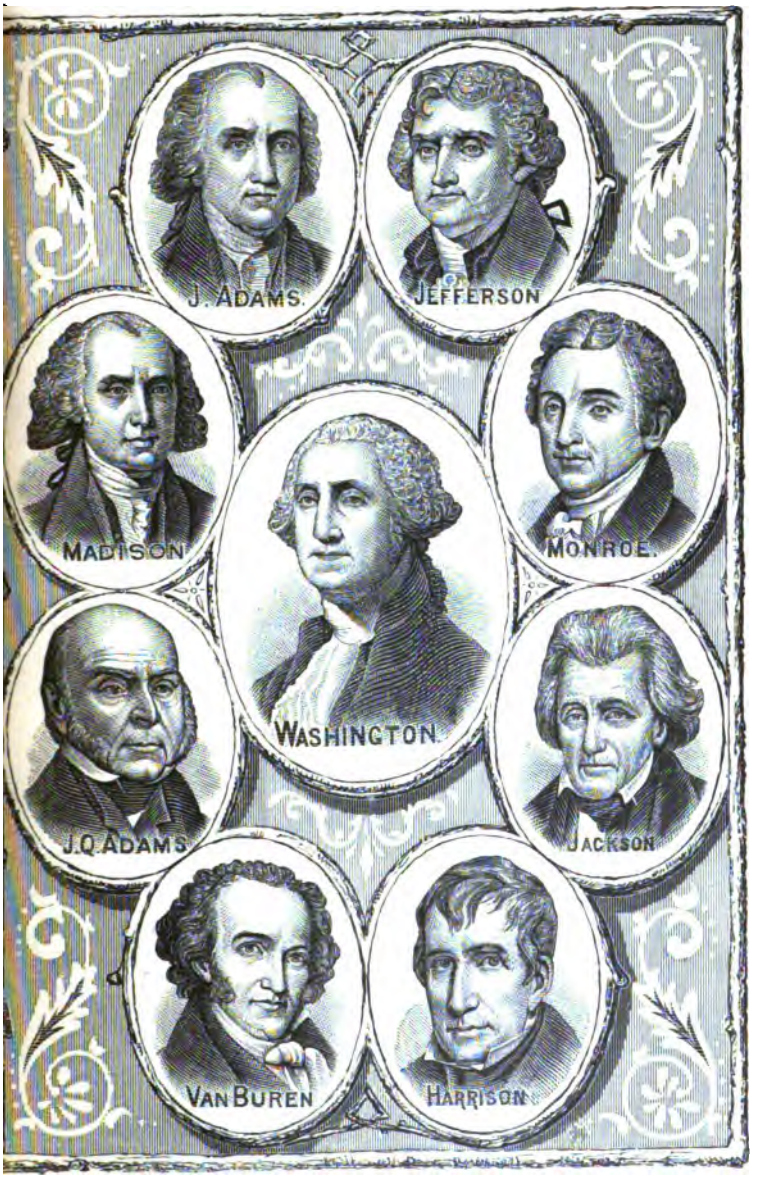
LIVES

OF

ALL THE PRESIDENTS

OF THE

UNITED STATES.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OUR FORMER PRESIDENTS

A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF THE NATION'S HISTORY

GEORGE WASHINGTON,

FIRST President of the United States, was born in Westmoreland County, Virginia, on the 22d of February, 1732. He was the son of Augustine Washington, a wealthy planter, and his second wife, Mary Ball. John Washington, the great-grandfather of the illustrious subject of this sketch, emigrated from England and settled in Virginia about 1657. George Washington's father died when he was in his eleventh year, leaving him in the care of his mother, a woman of marked strength of character. She was worthy of her trust. From her he acquired that self-restraint, love of order, and strict regard for justice and fair dealing, which, with his inherent probity and truthfulness, formed the basis of a character rarely equaled for its simple, yet commanding nobleness.

Apart from his mother's training, the youthful Washington received only the ordinary country-

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as aid-de-camp, with the rank of colonel, in his march against Fort Duquesne. That imprudent General, scorning the advice of his youthful aid, met disastrous defeat and death. In the battle, Washington's coat was pierced by four bullets. His bravery and presence of mind alone saved the army from total destruction.

Washington, on his return, was appointed commander-in-chief of all the troops of the colony, then numbering about two thousand men. This was in 1755, when he was but little more than twenty-three years of age. Having led the Virginia troops in Forbes' expedition in 1758, by which Fort Duquesne was captured, he resigned his commission, and, in January, 1759, married Mrs. Martha Custis (*nee* Dandridge), and settled down at Mount Vernon, on the Potomac, which estate he had inherited from his elder brother Lawrence, and to which he added until it reached some eight thousand acres.

The fifteen years following his marriage were, to Washington, years of such happiness as is rarely accorded to mortals. It was the halcyon period of his life. His home was the centre of a generous hospitality, where the duties of a busy planter and of a Judge of the County Court were varied by rural enjoyments and social intercourse. He managed his estates with prudence and economy. He slurred over nothing, and exhibited, even then, that rigid adherence to system and

accuracy of detail which subsequently marked his performance of his public duties.

In the difficulties which presently arose between Great Britain and her American Colonies, Washington sympathized deeply with the latter, and took an earnest, though not specially prominent part in those movements which finally led to the War of Independence. In the first general Congress of the Colonies, which met in Philadelphia, on the 5th of September, 1774, we find the name of Washington among the Virginia Delegates. As to the part he took in that Congress, we can only judge from a remark made by Patrick Henry, also a Delegate: "Colonel Washington," said the great orator, "was undoubtedly the greatest man on that floor, if you speak of solid information and sound judgment."

In the councils of his native province, we also get glimpses of his calm and dignified presence. And he is ever on the side of the Colonies—moderate, yet resolute, hopeful of an amicable adjustment of difficulties, yet advocating measures looking to a final appeal to arms.

At length the storm broke. The Battle of Lexington called the whole country to arms. While in the East the rude militia of New England beleaguered Boston with undisciplined but stern determination, Congress, in May, 1775, met a second time in Philadelphia. A Federal Union was formed and an army called for. As chair-

man of the various Committees on Military Affairs, Washington drew up most of the rules and regulations of the army, and devised measures for defense. The question now arose—By whom was the army to be led? Hancock, of Massachusetts, was ambitious of the place. Sectional jealousies showed themselves. Happily, however, Johnson, of Maryland, rising in his seat, nominated Washington. The election was by ballot, and unanimous. Modestly expressing sincere doubts as to his capability, Washington accepted the position with thanks, but refused to receive any salary. "I will keep an exact account of my expenses," he said. "These I doubt not Congress will discharge. That is all I desire."

On the 15th of June he received his commission. Writing a tender letter to his wife, he rapidly prepared to start on the following day to the army before Boston. He was now in the full vigor of manhood, forty-three years of age, tall, stately, of powerful frame and commanding presence. "As he sat his horse with manly grace," says Irving, "his military bearing delighted every eye, and wherever he went the air rung with acclamations."

On his way to the army, Washington met the tidings of the Battle of Bunker Hill. When told how bravely the militia had acted, a load seemed lifted from his heart. "The liberties of the country are safe!" he exclaimed. On the 2d of July

he took command of the troops, at Cambridge, Mass., the entire force then numbering about 15,000 men. It was not until March, 1776, that the siege of Boston ended in the withdrawal of the British forces. Washington's admirable conduct of this siege drew forth the enthusiastic applause of the nation. Congress had a gold medal struck, bearing the effigy of Washington as the Deliverer of Boston.

Hastening to defend New York from threatened attack, Washington there received, on the 9th of July, 1776, a copy of the "Declaration of Independence," adopted by Congress five days previously. On the 27th of the following month occurred the disastrous battle of Long Island, the misfortunes of which were retrieved, however, by Washington's admirable retreat, one of the most brilliant achievements of the war. Again defeated at White Plains, he was compelled to retire across New Jersey. On the 7th of December he passed to the west side of the Delaware, at the head of a dispirited army of less than four thousand effective men, many of them without shoes, and leaving tracks of blood in the snow. This was the darkest period of the war. But suddenly, as if inspired, Washington, in the midst of a driving storm, on Christmas night recrossing the Delaware, now filled with floating ice, gained in rapid succession the brilliant victories of Trenton and Princeton, thus changing

the entire aspect of affairs. Never were victories better timed. The waning hopes of the people in their cause and their commander were at once restored as if by magic.

It is not possible, in this necessarily brief sketch, to give the details of the agonizing struggle in which Washington and his little army were now involved. Superior numbers and equipments often inflicted upon him disasters which would have crushed a less resolute spirit. Cheered, however, by occasional glimpses of victory, and wisely taking advantage of what his troops learned in hardship and defeat, he was at length enabled, by one sagacious and deeply planned movement, to bring the war virtually to a close in the capture of the British army of 7,000 men, under Cornwallis, at Yorktown, on the 19th of October, 1781.

The tidings of the surrender of Cornwallis filled the country with joy. The lull in the activity of both Congress and the people was not viewed with favor by Washington. It was a period of peril. Idleness in the army fostered discontents there, which at one time threatened the gravest mischief. It was only by the utmost exertion that Washington induced the malcontents to turn a deaf ear to those who were attempting, as he alleged, "to open the flood-gates of civil discord, and deluge our rising empire with blood."

On September 3d, 1783, a treaty of peace was signed at Paris, by which the complete independence of the United States was secured. On the 23d of December following, Washington formally resigned his command. The very next morning he hastened to his beloved Mount Vernon, arriving there that evening, in time to enjoy the festivities which there greeted him.

Washington was not long permitted to enjoy his retirement. Indeed, his solicitude for the perpetuity of the political fabric he had helped to raise he could not have shaken off if he would. Unconsciously, it might have been, by his letters to his old friends still in public life, he continued to exercise a powerful influence on national affairs. He was one of the first to propose a remodeling of the Articles of Confederation, which were now acknowledged to be insufficient for their purpose. At length, a convention of delegates from the several States, to form a new Constitution, met at Philadelphia, in May, 1787. Washington presided over its session, which was long and stormy. After four months of deliberation was formed that Constitution under which, with some subsequent amendments, we now live.

When the new Constitution was finally ratified, Washington was called to the Presidency by the unanimous voice of the people. In April, 1789, he set out from Mount Vernon for New York, then the seat of Government, to be inaugurated.

"His progress," says Irving, "was a continuous ovation. The ringing of bells and the roaring of cannon proclaimed his course. Old and young, women and children, thronged the highways to bless and welcome him." His inauguration took place April 30th, 1789, before an immense multitude.

The eight years of Washington's Administration were years of trouble and difficulty. The two parties which had sprung up—the Federalist and the Republican—were greatly embittered against each other, each charging the other with the most unpatriotic designs. No other man than Washington could have carried the country safely through so perilous a period. His prudent, firm, yet conciliatory spirit, aided by the love and veneration with which the people regarded him, kept down insurrection and silenced discontent.

That he passed through this trying period safely cannot but be a matter of astonishment. The angry partisan contests, to which we have referred, were of themselves sufficient to dishearten any common man. Even Washington was distrustful of the event, so fiercely were the partisans of both parties enlisted—the Federalists clamoring for a stronger government, the Republicans for additional checks on the power already intrusted to the Executive. Besides, the Revolution then raging in France became a source of contention. The Federalists sided with England,

who was bent on crushing that Revolution; the Republicans, on the other hand, sympathized deeply with the French people: so that between them both, it was with extreme difficulty that the President could prevent our young Republic, burdened with debt, her people groaning under taxes necessarily heavy, and with finances, commerce, and the industrial arts in a condition of chaos, from being dragged into a fresh war with either France or England.

But, before retiring from the Presidency, Washington had the happiness of seeing many of the difficulties from which he had apprehended so much, placed in a fair way of final adjustment. A financial system was developed which lightened the burden of public debt and revived the drooping energies of the people. The country progressed rapidly. Immigrants flocked to our shores, and the regions west of the Alleghanies began to fill up. New States claimed admission and were received into the Union—Vermont, in 1791; Kentucky, in 1792; and Tennessee, in 1796; so that, before the close of Washington's second term, the original thirteen States had increased to sixteen.

Having served two Presidential terms, Washington, declining another election, returned once more to Mount Vernon, "that haven of repose to which he had so often turned a wistful eye," bearing with him the love and gratitude of his countrymen, to whom, in his memorable "Farewell Ad-

dress," he bequeathed a legacy of practical political wisdom which it will be well for them to remember and profit by. In this immortal document he insisted that the union of the States was "a main pillar" in the real independence of the people. He also entreated them to "steer clear of any permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world."

At Mount Vernon Washington found constant occupation in the supervision of his various estates. It was while taking his usual round on horseback to look after his farms, that, on the 12th of December, 1799, he encountered a cold, winter storm. He reached home chill and damp. The next day he had a sore throat, with some hoarseness. By the morning of the 14th he could scarcely swallow. "I find I am going," said he to a friend. "I believed from the first that the attack would be fatal." That night, between ten and eleven, he expired, without a struggle or a sigh, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, his disease being acute laryngitis. Three days afterward his remains were deposited in the family tombs at Mount Vernon, where they still repose.

Washington left a reputation on which there is no stain. "His character," says Irving, "possessed fewer inequalities, and a rarer union of virtues than perhaps ever fell to the lot of one man. * * * It seems as if Providence had endowed him in a pre-eminent degree with the qualities

requisite to fit him for the high destiny he was called upon to fulfill."

In stature Washington was six feet two inches in height, well proportioned, and firmly built. His hair was brown, his eyes blue and set far apart. From boyhood he was famous for great strength and agility. Jefferson pronounced him "the best horseman of his age, and the most graceful figure that could be seen on horseback." He was scrupulously neat, gentlemanly, and punctual, and always dignified and reserved.

In the resolution passed upon learning of his death, the National House of Representatives described him for the first time in that well-known phrase, "First in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen,"—a tribute which succeding generations have continued to bestow upon Washington without question or doubt. By common consent to him is accorded as pre-eminently appropriate the title, "Pater Patriæ,"—the "Father of his Country."

Of Washington, Lord Brougham says: "It will be the duty of the historian and the sage, in all ages, to omit no occasion of commemorating this illustrious man; and until time shall be no more will a test of the progress our race has made in wisdom and virtue be derived from the veneration paid to the immortal name of Washington."

MOUNT VERNON—THE HOME OF WASHINGTON.

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JOHN ADAMS,

SECOND President of the United States, was born at Braintree, now Quincy, Mass., October 19th, 1735. He was the eldest son of John Adams, a farmer, and Susanna Boylston. Graduating from Harvard in 1755, he studied law, defraying his expenses by teaching. In 1764, having meanwhile been admitted to the bar, he married Miss Abigail Smith, a lady whose energy of character contributed largely to his subsequent advancement.

As early as 1761, we find young Adams looking forward, with prophetic vision, to American Independence. When the memorable Stamp Act was passed in 1765, he joined heart and soul in opposition to it. A series of resolutions which he drew up against it and presented to the citizens of Braintree was adopted also by more than forty other towns in the Province. He took the advanced grounds that it was absolutely void—Parliament having no right to tax the Colonies.

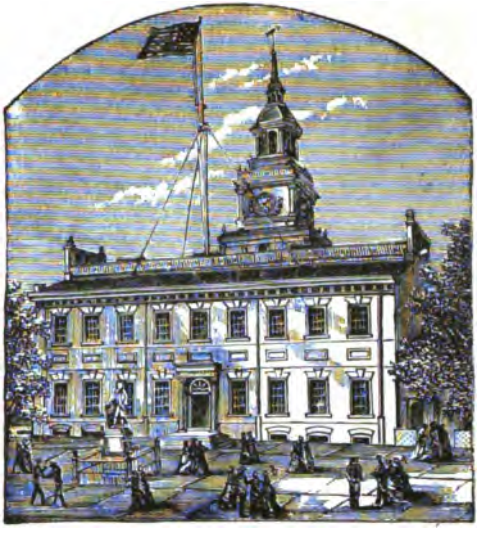
In 1768 he removed to Boston. The rise of the young lawyer was now rapid, and he was the leading man in many prominent cases. When, in September, 1774, the first Colonial Congress met, at Philadelphia, Adams was one of the five Delegates from Massachusetts. In that Congress he took a prominent part. He it was who, on the 6th of

May, 1776, boldly advanced upon the path of Independence, by moving "the adoption of such measures as would best conduce to the happiness and safety of the American people." It was Adams, who, a month later, seconded the resolution of Lee, of Virginia, "that these United States are, and of right ought to be, independent." It was he who uttered the famous words, "Sink or swim, live or die, survive or perish, with my country is my unalterable determination." He, too, it was, who, with Jefferson, Franklin, Sherman, and Livingston, drew up that famous "Declaration of Independence," which, adopted by Congress on the 4th of July, 1776, decided a question, "greater, perhaps, than ever was or will be decided anywhere." During all these years of engrossing public duty he produced many able essays on the rights of the Colonies. These appeared in the leading journals of the day and exerted wide influence. The motion to prepare a Declaration of Independence was opposed by a strong party, to the champion of which Adams made reply and Jefferson said, "John Adams was the ablest advocate and champion of independence on the floor of the House."

Writing to his wife on July 3d, 1776, and referring to the Declaration of Independence, that day adopted, he forecast the manner of that day's celebration by bonfires, fireworks, etc., as "the great anniversary festival." During all the years

CARPENTERS' HALL, PHILADELPHIA.

(Where the Continental Congress met.)



OLD STATE HOUSE, PHILADELPHIA.

(Where Independence was declared.)

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of the war he was a most zealous worker and valued counselor. After its years of gloom and trial, on the 21st of January, 1783, he assisted in the conclusion of a treaty of peace, by which Great Britain acknowledged the complete independence of the United States. On the previous October, he had achieved what he ever regarded as the greatest success of his life—the formation of a treaty of peace and alliance with Holland, which had a most important bearing on the negotiations leading to the final adjustment with England.

He was United States Minister to England from 1785 to 1788, and Vice-President during both the terms of Washington. During these years, as presiding officer of the Senate, he gave no less than twenty casting votes, all of them on questions of great importance, and all supporting the policy of the President. Mr. Adams was himself inaugurated President on the 4th of March, 1797, having been elected over Jefferson by a small majority. Thomas Pinckney was nominated for the Vice-Presidency with him, they representing the Federal party, but in the Electoral College Thomas Jefferson received the choice and became Vice-President. He retained as his Cabinet the officers previously chosen by Washington.

He came into office at a critical period. The conduct of the French Directory, in refusing to receive our ambassadors, and in trying to injure

our commerce by unjust decrees, excited intense ill-feeling, and finally led to what is known as "the Quasi War" with France. Congress now passed the so-called "Alien and Sedition Laws," by which extraordinary and, it is alleged, unconstitutional powers were conferred upon the President. Though the apprehended war was averted, the odium of these laws effectually destroyed the popularity of Adams, who, on running for a second term, was defeated by Mr. Jefferson, representing the Republicans, who were the Democratic party of that day. On the 4th of March, 1801, he retired to private life on his farm near Quincy. His course as President had brought upon him the reproaches of both parties, and his days were ended in comparative obscurity and neglect. He lived to see his son, John Quincy Adams, in the Presidential chair.

By a singular coincidence, the death of Mr. Adams and that of his old political rival, Jefferson, took place on the same day, and almost at the same hour. Stranger still, it was on July the 4th, 1826, whilst bells were ringing and cannon roaring to celebrate the fiftieth Anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, their own immortal production, that these two men passed away. Mr. Adams was asked if he knew what day it was. "Oh! yes!" he exclaimed, "It is the Fourth of July. God bless it! God bless you all! It is a great and glorious day!" and soon after quietly expired, in the ninety-first year of his age.

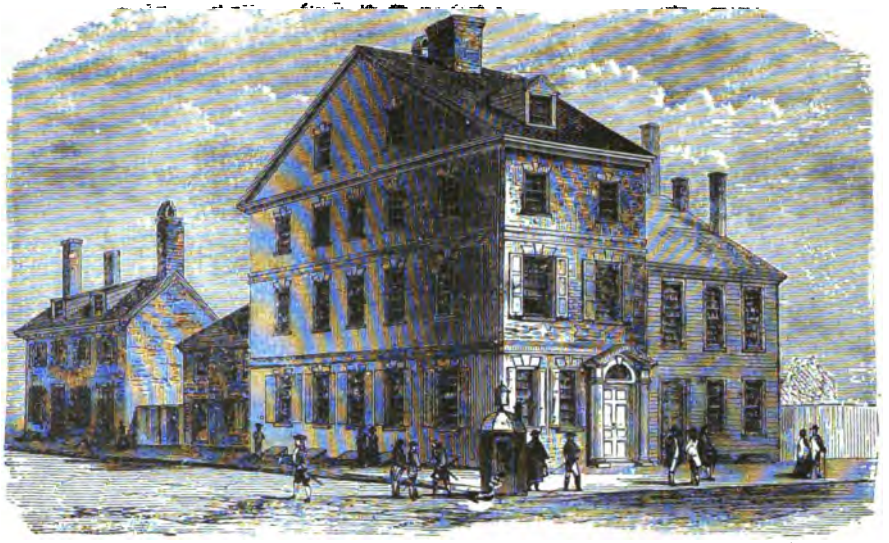
Mr. Adams possessed a vigorous and polished intellect, and was one of the most upright of men. His character was one to command respect, rather than to win affection. There was a certain lack of warmth in his stately courtesy which seemed to forbid approach. Yet nobody, we are told, could know him intimately without admiring the simplicity and truth which shone in all his actions.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, who succeeded Adams as President, was born at Shadwell, Albermarle County, Va., April 2d, 1743. Peter Jefferson, his father, was a man of great force of character and of remarkably powerful physique. His mother, Jane Randolph, was from a most respectable English family. He was the eldest of eight children. He became a classical student when a mere boy, and entered college in an advanced class when but seventeen years of age. Having passed through college, he studied law under Judge Wythe, and in 1767 commenced practice. In 1769, he was elected to the Virginia Legislature. Three years later, he married Mrs. Martha Skelton, a rich, handsome, and accomplished young widow, with whom he went to reside in his new mansion at Monticello, near to the spot where he was born. His practice at the bar grew

rapidly and became very lucrative, and he early engaged in the political affairs of his own State.

For years the breach between England and her Colonies had been rapidly widening. Jefferson earnestly advocated the right of the latter to local self-government, and wrote a pamphlet on the subject which attracted much attention on both sides of the Atlantic. By the spring of 1775 the Colonies were in revolt. We now find Jefferson in the Continental Congress—the youngest member save one. His arrival had been anxiously awaited. He had the reputation "of a matchless pen." Though silent on the floor, in committee "he was prompt, frank, explicit, and decisive." Early in June, 1776, a committee, with Jefferson as chairman, was appointed to draw up a "Declaration of Independence." Unanimously urged by his associates to write it, he did so, Franklin and Adams, only, making a few verbal alterations. Jefferson has been charged with plagiarism in the composition of this ever-memorable paper. Volumes have been written on the subject; but those who have investigated the closest, declare that the Mecklenburg Declaration, from which he was charged with plagiarism, was not then in existence. Jefferson distinctly denies having seen it. Probably, in preparing it, he used many of the popular phrases of the time; and hence it was that it seized so quickly and so irresistibly upon the public heart. It was the crystallized expression



HOUSE WHERE JEFFERSON WROTE THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

(Formerly on S. W. corner of Seventh and Market Streets, Philadelphia.)

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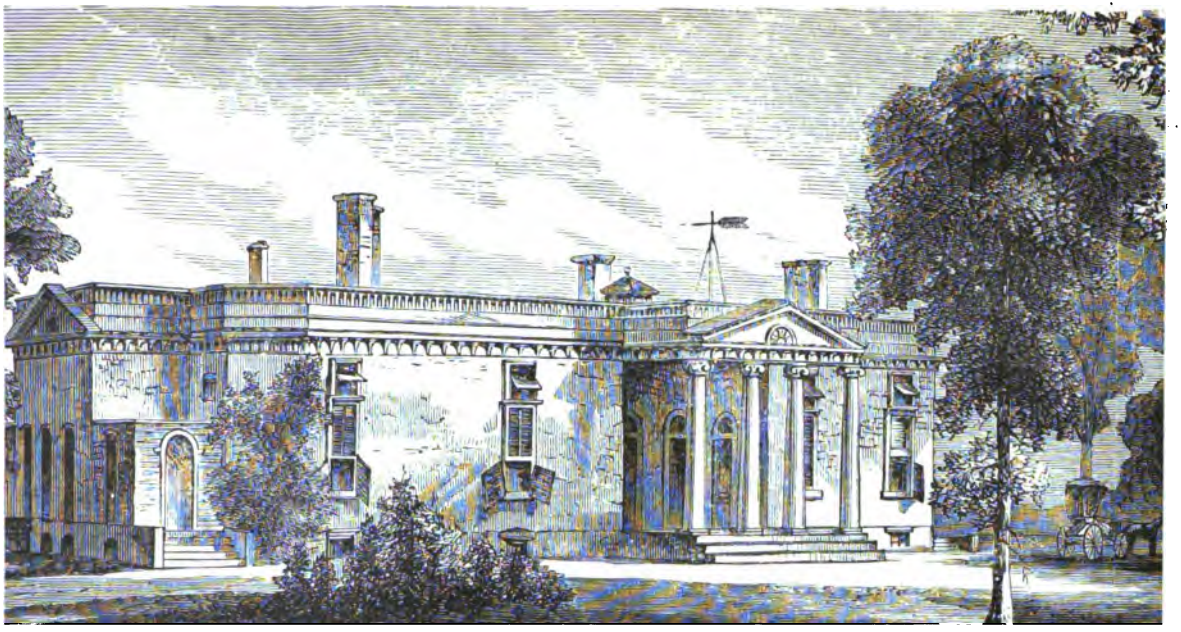
of the spirit of the age. Edward Everett pronounced this Declaration "equal to anything ever born on parchment or expressed in the visible signs of thought." Bancroft declares, "The heart of Jefferson in writing it, and of Congress in adopting it, beat for all humanity."

Chosen a second time to Congress, Jefferson declined the appointment, in order that he might labor in re-organizing Virginia. He therefore accepted a seat in the Legislature, where he zealously applied himself to revising the fundamental laws of the State. The abolition of primogeniture and the Church establishment was the result of his labors, and he was justly proud of it. No more important advance could have been made. It was a step from middle-age darkness into the broad light of modern civilization.

In 1778, Jefferson procured the passage of a law prohibiting the further importation of slaves. The following year he was elected Governor, succeeding Patrick Henry in this honorable position, and at the close of his official term he again sought the retirement of Monticello. In 1782, shortly after the death of his beloved wife, he was summoned to act as one of the Commissioners to negotiate peace with England. He was not required to sail, however; but, taking a seat in Congress, during the winter of 1783, he, who had drawn up the Declaration of Independence, was the first to officially announce its final triumph.

At the next session of Congress, he secured the adoption of our present admirable system of coinage. As chairman of a committee to draft rules for the government of our Northwest Territory he endeavored, but without success, to secure the prohibition of slavery therefrom forever. In May, 1784, he was sent to Europe, to assist Adams and Franklin in negotiating treaties of commerce with foreign nations. Returning home in 1789, he received from Washington the appointment of Secretary of State, which office he resigned in 1793. He withdrew, says Marshall, "at a time when he stood particularly high in the esteem of his countrymen." His friendship for France, and his dislike of England; his warm opposition to the aggrandizement of the central power of the Government, and his earnest advocacy of every measure tending to enlarge popular freedom, had won for him a large following, and he now stood the acknowledged leader of the great and growing Anti-federal party.

Washington declining a third term, Adams, as we have already seen, succeeded him, Jefferson becoming Vice-President. At the next election, Jefferson and Burr, the Republican candidates, stood highest on the list. By the election law of that period, he who had the greatest number of votes was to be President, while the Vice-Presidency fell to the next highest candidate. Jefferson and Burr having an equal number of votes,



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it remained for the House of Representatives to decide which should be President. After a long and heated canvass, Jefferson was chosen on the thirty-sixth ballot. He was inaugurated, on the 4th of March, 1801, at Washington, whither the Capitol had been removed a few months previously. In 1804, he was re-elected by an overwhelming majority. At the close of his second term, he retired once more to the quiet of Monticello.

The most important public measure of Jefferson's Administration, to the success of which he directed his strongest endeavors, was the purchase from France, for the insignificant sum of $15,000,000, of the immense Territory of Louisiana. It was during his Administration, too, that the conspiracy of Burr was discovered, and thwarted by the prompt and decisive action of the President. Burr's scheme was a mad one—to break up the Union, and erect a new empire, with Mexico as its seat. Jefferson is regarded as having initiated the custom of removing incumbents from office on political grounds alone.

From the retirement into which he withdrew at the end of his second term, Jefferson never emerged. His time was actively employed in the management of his property and in his extensive correspondence. In establishing a University at Charlottesville, Jefferson took a deep interest, devoting to it much of his time and means.

He was proud of his work, and directed that the words "Father of the University of Virginia" should be inscribed upon his tomb. He died, shortly after mid-day, on the Fourth of July, 1826, a few hours before his venerable friend and compatriot, Adams.

Jefferson was the very embodiment of the democracy he sought to make the distinctive feature of his party. All titles were distasteful to him, even the prefix Mr. His garb and manners were such that the humblest farmer was at home in his society. He declared that in view of the existence of slavery he "trembled for his country when he remembered that God is just." He was of splendid physique, being six feet two and a half inches in height, but well built and sinewy. His hair was of a reddish brown, his countenance ruddy, his eyes light hazel. Both he and his wife were wealthy, but they spent freely and died insolvent, leaving but one daughter.

His moral character was of the highest order. Profanity he could not endure, either in himself or others. He never touched cards, or strong drink in any form. He was one of the most generous of men, lavishly hospitable, and in everything a thorough gentleman. Gifted with an intellect far above the average, he had added to it a surprising culture, which ranked him among our most accomplished scholars. To his extended learning, to his ardent love of lib-

erty, and to his broad and tolerant views, is due much, very much, of whatever is admirable in our institutions. In them we discern everywhere traces of his master spirit.

JAMES MADISON.

WHEN Mr. Jefferson retired from the Presidency, the country was almost on the verge of war with Great Britain. Disputes had arisen in regard to certain restrictions laid by England upon our commerce. A hot discussion also came up about the right claimed and exercised by the commanders of English war-vessels, of searching American ships and of taking from them such seamen as they might choose to consider natives of Great Britain. Many and terrible wrongs had been perpetrated in the exercise of this alleged right. Hundreds of American citizens had been ruthlessly forced into the British service.

It was when the public mind was agitated by such outrages, that James Madison, the fourth President of the United States, was inaugurated. When he took his seat, on the 4th of March, 1809, he lacked but a few days of being fifty-eight years of age, having been born on the 15th of March, 1751. His father was Colonel James Madison, his mother Nellie Conway. He gradu-

ated at Princeton College, New Jersey, in 1771, after which he studied law.

In his twenty-sixth year he had been a member of the Convention which framed the Constitution of Virginia; in 1780 had been elected to the Continental Congress, in which he at once took a commanding position; had subsequently entered the Virginia Legislature, where he co-operated with his friend and neighbor, Jefferson, in the abrogation of entail and primogeniture, and in the establishment of religious freedom; had drawn up the call in answer to which the Convention to Draught a Constitution for the United States met at Philadelphia in 1787, and had been one of the most active members of that memorable assemblage in reconciling the discordant elements of which it was composed. He had also labored earnestly to secure the adoption of the new Constitution by his native State; had afterward entered Congress; and when Jefferson became President, in March, 1801, had been by him appointed Secretary of State, a post he had declined when it was vacated by Jefferson in December, 1793. In this important post for eight years, he won the highest esteem and confidence of the nation. Having been nominated by the Republicans, he was in 1808 elected to the Presidency, receiving one hundred and twenty-two electoral votes, while Charles C. Pinckney, the Federal candidate, received but forty-seven.

In 1794, he married Mrs. Dorothy Todd, a young widow lady, whose bright intelligence and fascinating manners were to gain her celebrity as one of the most remarkable women who ever presided over the domestic arrangements of the Presidential Mansion.

Of a weak and delicate constitution, and with the habits of a student, Mr. Madison would have preferred peace to war. But even he lost patience at the insults heaped upon the young Republic by it ancient mother; and when, at length, on the 18th of June, 1812, Congress declared war against Great Britain, he gave the declaration his official sanction, and took active steps to enforce it. Though disasters in the early part of the war greatly strengthened the Federal party, who were bitterly opposed to hostilities, the ensuing Presidential canvass resulted in the re-election of Mr. Madison by a large majority, his competitor, De Witt Clinton, receiving eighty-nine electoral votes to one hundred and twenty-eight for Madison. On the 12th of August, 1814, a British army took Washington, the President himself narrowly escaping capture. The Presidential Mansion, the Capitol, and all the public buildings were wantonly burned. The 14th of December following, a treaty of peace was signed at Ghent, in which, however, England did not relinquish her claim to the right of search. But as she has not since attempted to exercise it, the question may be regarded as having been finally settled by the contest.

On the 4th of March, 1817, Madison's second term having expired, he withdrew to private life at his paternal home of Montpelier, Orange County, Va. During his administration, two new States had been added to the Union, making the total number at this period nineteen. The first to claim admittance was Louisiana, in 1812. It was formed out of the Southern portion of the vast Territory, purchased, during the Presidency of Jefferson, from France. Indiana—the second State—was admitted in 1816.

After his retirement from office, Mr. Madison passed nearly a score of quiet years at Montpelier. With Jefferson, who was a not very distant neighbor, he co-operated in placing the Charlottesville University upon a substantial foundation. In 1829, he left his privacy to take part in the Convention which met at Richmond to revise the Constitution of the State. His death took place on the 28th of June, 1836, in the eighty-fifth year of his age.

JAMES MONROE.

MADISON'S successor in the Presidential chair was James Monroe, whose Administration has been called "the Era of Good Feeling," from the temporary subsidence at that time of party strife. He was a son of Spence Monroe, a planter. He was born on his father's

plantation in Westmoreland County, Va., on the 28th of April, 1758. At the age of sixteen he entered William and Mary College; but when, two years later, the Declaration of Independence called the Colonies to arms, the young collegian, dropping his books, girded on his sword, and entered the service of his country. Commissioned a lieutenant, he took part in the battles of Harlem Heights and White Plains. In the attack on Trenton he was wounded in the shoulder, and for his bravery promoted to a captaincy. Subsequently he was attached to the staff of Lord Sterling with the rank of major, and fought by the side of Lafayette, when that officer was wounded at the battle of Brandywine, and also participated in the battles of Germantown and Monmouth. He was afterward given a colonel's commission, but, being unable to recruit a regiment, began the study of law in the office of Jefferson, then Governor of Virginia.

When only about twenty-three years old, he was elected to the Virginia Legislature. The next year he was sent to Congress. On the expiration of his term, having meanwhile married, in New York, Miss Kortright, a young lady of great intelligence and rare personal attractions, he returned to Fredericksburg, and commenced practice as a lawyer. He espoused the cause of the Anti-Federal or Republican party, being thoroughly democratic in his ideas, as was his eminent

preceptor, Jefferson. In 1789, he was elected to the United States Senate. In 1794, he was appointed minister-plenipotentiary to France, but recalled from his mission two years later because of his outspoken sympathies with the republicans of that country.

Shortly after his return, Monroe was elected Governor of Virginia, which post he held for three years (1799–1802). On the expiration of his official term, he was sent to co-operate with Edward Livingston, then resident Minister at Paris, in negotiating the treaty by which the Territory of Louisiana was secured to the United States. In 1811, he was again elected Governor of Virginia, but presently resigned to become Madison's Secretary of State.

During the period following the capture of Washington, September, 1814–March, 1815, he acted as Secretary of War, and did much to restore the nation's power and credit. He continued Secretary of State until March, 1817, when he became President. He was chosen by the Democratic party, till then known as the Republican. He received one hundred and eighty-three electoral votes, his opponent, Rufus King, receiving but thirty-four votes. The violence of party spirit greatly abated during his first term, and he was re-elected in 1821, with but one dissenting vote out of the two hundred and thirty-two cast by the electoral college. On the 4th of March, 1825, he

retired to the quiet and seclusion of his estate at Oak Hill, in Loudon County, Virginia.

During Monroe's Administration, the boundaries of the United States were considerably enlarged by the purchase of Florida from Spain. Five new States were also admitted into the Union: Mississippi, in 1817; Illinois, in 1818; Alabama, in 1819; Maine, in 1820; and Missouri, in 1821.

The discussion in Congress over the admission of Missouri showed the existence of a new disturbing element in our national politics. It was the question of the further extension of slavery; not so much in regard to its moral aspects as to its bearing on the question of the balance of political power. For a brief period two parties, one in favor of and the other against admitting any more Slave States, filled Congress and the country with angry discussion. This was quieted for the time by what is known as "the Missouri Compromise," which restricted slavery to the territory lying south of the southern boundary of Missouri.

The somewhat celebrated "Monroe Doctrine" is regarded as one of the most important results of Monroe's Administration. It was enunciated in his message to Congress on the 2d of December, 1823, and arose out of his sympathy for the new Republics then recently set up in South America. In substance it was, that the United States would never entangle themselves with the

quarrels of Europe, nor allow Europe to interfere with the affairs of this continent.

In 1830, the venerable ex-President went to reside with his son-in-law, Samuel L. Gouverneur, in New York, where he died in the seventy-fourth year of his age, on the 4th of July, 1831, being the third of our five Revolutionary Presidents to pass from earth on the anniversary of that memorable day, which had contributed so largely to the shaping of their destinies.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS,

THE son of John Adams, our second President, and himself the sixth chief executive of the Union, was born at Quincy, Mass., on the 11th of July, 1767. He enjoyed rare opportunities for culture from his mother, who was a lady of very superior talents. While yet a mere boy, he twice accompanied his father to Europe, and at the age of fourteen was appointed private secretary to Francis Dana, then Minister to Russia. Graduating from Harvard in 1788, he studied law under Theophilus Parsons, and commenced practice in Boston in 1791. In 1794, he was appointed by Washington Minister to Holland. In July, 1797, he married Louisa, daughter of Joshua Johnson, then American Consul at London. In 1797, his father, who was then President, gave him the mission to Berlin, being urged to this

recognition of his own son by Washington, who pronounced the younger Adams "the most valuable public character we have abroad."

On the accession of Jefferson to the Presidency, Mr. Adams was recalled from Berlin. Soon after his return, however, he was elected to the United States Senate, where he speedily won a commanding position, ardently supporting Jefferson's measures of resistance against the arrogance and insolence of England in her encroachments upon our commerce and in her impressment of our seamen. The Legislature of Massachusetts having censured him for his course, Adams resigned his seat; but, in 1809, was selected by Madison to represent the United States at St. Petersburg. On the 24th of December, 1814, he, in conjunction with Clay and Gallatin, concluded the Treaty of Ghent, which closed "the Second War of Independence." In 1817, he was recalled to act as Secretary of State for President Monroe.

At the election for Monroe's successor, in 1824, party spirit ran high. The contest was an exciting one. Of the two hundred and sixty electoral votes, Andrew Jackson received 99, John Quincy Adams 84, Wm. H. Crawford 41, and Henry Clay 37. As there was no choice by the people, the election devolved upon the House of Representatives. Here Mr. Clay gave the vote of Kentucky to Adams, and otherwise promoted his cause, so that he received the votes of thirteen States, and was elected.

The Administration of the younger Adams has been characterized as the purest and most economical on record. Yet, during his entire term, he was the object of the most rancorous partisan assaults. He had appointed Clay as his Secretary of State, whereat the Jackson men accused them both of "bargaining and corruption," and in all ways disparaged and condemned their work. In his official intercourse, it was said Adams often displayed "a formal coldness which froze like an iceberg." This coldness of manner, along with his advocacy of a high protective tariff and the policy of internal improvements, and his known hostility to slavery, made him many bitter enemies, especially in the South, and at the close of his first term he was probably the most unpopular man who could have aspired to the Presidency; and yet, in his contest with Jackson at that time, Adams received eighty-three electoral votes, Jackson being chosen by one hundred and seventy-eight.

On the 4th of March, 1829, General Jackson having been elected President, Mr. Adams retired to private life; but, in 1831, was elected to the House of Representatives of the United States, where he took his seat, pledged, as he said, to no party. He at once became the leader of that little band, so insignificant in numbers, but powerful in determination and courage, who, regarding slavery as both a moral and a political

evil, began, in Congress, to advocate its abolition. By his continual presentation of petitions against slavery, he gradually yet irresistibly led the public mind to familiarize itself with the idea of its final extinction. To the fiery onslaughts of the Southern members he opposed a cold and unimpassioned front.

In 1842, to show his consistency in upholding the right of petition, he presented to Congress the petition of some thirty or forty over-zealous anti-slavery persons for the dissolution of the Union. This brought upon the venerable ex-President a perfect tempest of indignation. Resolutions to expel him were introduced; but, after eleven days of stormy discussion, they were laid on the table. The intrepidity displayed by "the old man eloquent" was beginning to tell. Even those who most bitterly opposed his doctrines were learning to respect him. When, after a season of illness, he re-appeared in Congress, in February, 1847, every member instinctively rose in his seat to do the old man honor. On the 21st of February, 1848, Mr. Adams was struck down by paralysis on the floor of the House of Representatives. He was taken, senseless, into an ante-room. Recovering his consciousness, he looked calmly around, and said: "This is the last of earth: I am content." These were his last words. In an apartment beneath the dome of the Capitol he expired, on February 23d, in the eighty-first year of his age.

ANDREW JACKSON,

SEVENTH President of the United States, was born in Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, on the 15th of March, 1767. His father, who was a poor Irishman, dying a few days before Andrew's birth, he and his two older brothers were left to the care of his mother. The boys had little schooling. Andrew was a rude, turbulent lad, at once vindictive and generous, full of mischief, but resolute, of indomitable courage, and wonderfully self-reliant. When but thirteen, fired by the death of his oldest brother, who had perished from heat and exhaustion at the Battle of Stono, he shouldered a musket and took part in the War of Independence. He and his remaining brother were made prisoners by the British, but were soon released through the exertions of their mother. It was during this captivity that Andrew received a wound from a British officer for refusing to black the boots of that dignitary. Both the released boys were soon sent home with the small-pox, of which the elder died, and Andrew barely escaped death. The mother went next, dying of ship fever, contracted while attending upon the patriot prisoners at Charleston. Thus left an orphan, Andrew worked a short time in a saddler's shop. He then tried school-teaching, and finally studied law, being

admitted to practice when but twenty years old. At that time he was very commanding in appearance, being six feet one inch in height, and distinguished for courage and activity.

In 1791, Jackson married, at Nashville, where he had built up a lucrative practice, Mrs. Rachel Robards, the divorced wife, as both he and the lady herself supposed, of Mr. Lewis Robards. They had lived together two years, when it was discovered that Mrs. Robards was not fully divorced at the time of her second marriage. As, however, the divorce had subsequently been perfected, the marriage ceremony was performed anew, in 1794. In after years, this unfortunate mistake was made the basis of many calumnious charges against Jackson by his partisan enemies.

Tennessee having been made a State in 1796, Jackson was successively its Representative and Senator in Congress, and a Judge of its Supreme Court. Resigning his judgeship in 1804, he entered into and carried on for a number of years an extensive trading business. He was also elected at this period major-general in the militia. In 1806 he was severely wounded in a duel with Charles Dickenson, who had been making disparaging remarks against his wife, something which Jackson could neither forget nor forgive. Dickenson fell mortally wounded, and, after suffering intense agony for a short time, died. This

sad affair, in which Jackson displayed much vindictiveness, made him for awhile very unpopular.

When, in 1812, war was declared against England, Jackson promptly offered his services to the General Government. During the summer of 1813 he had another of those personal rencontres into which his fiery temper was continually leading him. In an affray with Thomas H. Benton, he received a pistol-shot in the shoulder at the hands of Benton's brother, from the effects of which he never fully recovered. He was still suffering from the immediate consequences of this wound, when tidings were received at Nashville of the massacre at Fort Mimms by Creek Indians. Jackson, regardless of his wounds, at once took the field. An energetic campaign, in which, winning victory after victory, he established his reputation as one of our best military chieftains, ended the Creek War, and broke forever the power of the Indian races in North America.

In May, 1814, Jackson was made a major-general in the regular army and became the acknowledged military leader in the Southwest. New Orleans being threatened by the British, he hastened to defend it. There, on the 8th of January, 1815, with less than five thousand men, mostly untrained militia, he repulsed the attack of a well-appointed army of nearly fourteen thousand veteran troops, under some of the most distinguished officers in the English service. Generals Paken-

ham and Gibbs, of the British forces, were killed, together with seven hundred of their men, fourteen hundred more being wounded and five hundred taken prisoners. Jackson lost but eight killed and fourteen wounded. Ten days later the enemy withdrew, leaving many of their guns behind them. The full glory of Jackson's triumph at New Orleans partisan rancor subsequently sought to dim. But high military authorities, even in England, have sustained the popular judgment that it was a brilliant victory, achieved by rare foresight, wise conduct, and undoubted warlike genius.

Jackson's success at New Orleans gave him immense popularity. He received a vote of thanks from Congress, was made Commander-in-chief of the southern division of the army, and even began to be talked of as a candidate for the Presidency. President Monroe offered him the post of Secretary of War. In the Seminole War, which commenced about the close of 1817, he took the field in person. He was successful, with but little fighting. His execution of Arbuthnot and Armbruster, two British subjects, found guilty by a military court of inciting the Indians to hostilities, caused an angry discussion between England and the United States which at one time threatened to end in open rupture. In Congress, also, it excited a warm debate; but resolutions censuring the General were rejected by the

House, and came to no conclusion in the Senate.

When Spain ceded Florida to the Union, Jackson was appointed Governor of the Territory. In 1823 he was elected to the United States Senate by the Legislature of Tennessee, which, at the same time, nominated him for the Presidency. This nomination, though ridiculed on account of Jackson's alleged unfitness for the office, nevertheless resulted, at the ensuing election, in his receiving more votes than any other single candidate; but the choice devolving on the House of Representatives, Adams, as we have seen, was elected. For Henry Clay's part in this success of Adams, Jackson became his bitter enemy, stigmatizing him as the "Judas of the West." In the next campaign, however, Jackson achieved a decided triumph, having a majority of eighty-three out of two hundred and sixty-one electoral votes.

In retaliation for the bitter personal attacks he had received during the campaign, Jackson commenced a wholesale political proscription of his partisan opponents. Adopting the war-cry of his Secretary of State, Marcy, of New York, that "to the victors belong the spoils," he initiated that system, ever since so prevalent, of turning out of office every man not on the side of the winning party. His veto of the bill re-chartering the United States Bank, which for a time caused quite a panic in commercial circles, and his determined

stand against the "nullifiers," under the lead of Calhoun, who, with threats of armed resistance, demanded a reduction of the tariff, excited a warm opposition to the President. But, in spite of every effort, the election of 1828 brought him again into the Presidential chair with an overwhelming majority, he receiving two hundred and nineteen electoral votes out of two hundred and eighty-eight, which was then the total number.

On the 10th of December, 1832, Jackson was compelled by the conduct of South Carolina to issue a proclamation threatening to use the army in case of resistance to the execution of the tariff laws; but, fortunately, Mr. Clay succeeded in bringing about a compromise, by which, the tariff being modified, the South Carolinians were enabled to recede from their position with becoming dignity.

Jackson's removal of the deposits, in 1833, caused an intense excitement throughout the country. In Congress, his course was censured by the Senate, but approved by the House. A panic existed for some time in business circles; but before the close of his second term the great mass of the people were content with the President's course.

Jackson's foreign diplomacy had been very successful. Useful commercial treaties were made with several countries and renewed with others. Indemnities for spoliations on American

commerce were obtained from various foreign countries. The national debt was extinguished, the Cherokees were removed from Georgia and the Creeks from Florida, while the original number of the States was doubled by the admission into the Union of Arkansas, in 1836, and of Michigan, in 1837. On the other hand, the slavery dispute was renewed with much bitterness, and the Seminole War re-commenced.

On the 4th of March, 1837, Jackson retired from public life. He returned to "the Hermitage," his country seat, where he remained until his death, on the 8th of June, 1845. The immediate cause of his death was dropsy; but through the greater part of his life he had been a sufferer from disease in one form or another.

General Jackson has been described as a man of unbounded hospitality. He loved fine horses and had a passion for racing them. "His temper," writes Colonel Benton, "was placable as well as irascible, and his reconciliations were cordial and sincere." He abhorred debt, public as well as private. His love of country was a master passion. "He was a thoroughly honest man, as straightforward in action as his thoughts were unsophisticated." Of book-knowledge he possessed little—scarcely anything; but his vigorous native intelligence and intuitive judgment carried him safely through where the most profound learning without them would have failed.

MARTIN VAN BUREN,

THE eighth chief executive of the Union, was the son of a thrifty farmer in the old town of Kinderhook, in Columbia County, New York, where he was born on the 5th of December, 1782. Early evidencing unusual mental vigor, a good academic education was given to him. Finishing this at the age of fourteen, he then began the study of the law. After seven years of study he was admitted to the bar, and commenced to practice in his native village. His growing reputation and practice warranting him in seeking a wider field, in 1809 he removed to Hudson. In 1812, he was elected to the Senate of New York; and, in 1815, having been appointed Attorney-General of the State, he removed to Albany. In 1821, he was elected to the United States Senate, and was also a member of the Convention to revise the Constitution of New York. He speedily rose to distinction in the National Senate, and, in 1827, was re-elected to that body, but the year following resigned his seat to take the position of Governor of New York.

In 1829, General Jackson, whose election to the Presidency was no doubt due in a great measure to the shrewd political management of Van Buren, offered him the post of Secretary of State.

In 1831, circumstances making it necessary for Jackson to re-organize his Cabinet, Van Buren resigned his Secretaryship, but was immediately named Minister to England. The Senate, however, greatly to the President's dissatisfaction, refused to confirm the nomination, though Van Buren had already reached London. This rejection of his friend aroused all of Jackson's determined spirit. He not only succeeded in placing Mr. Van Buren in the Vice-Presidency during his own second term, but he also began to work zealously to obtain Van Buren's nomination as his successor in the Presidency. He triumphed, and his friend received the Democratic nomination, and was elected by a handsome majority, taking his seat in the Presidential chair on the 4th of March, 1837.

Shortly after Van Buren's inauguration, a financial panic, ascribed to General Jackson's desire to make specie the currency of the country, and his consequent war upon the banks, brought the country to the very verge of ruin. Failures came fast and frequent, and all the great industries of the nation were paralyzed. At the same time, the war in Florida against the Seminoles lingered along, without the slightest apparent prospect of coming to an end, entailing enormous expenses on the Government; while the anti-slavery agitation, growing steadily stronger, excited mobs and violence, and threatened to shake

the Republic from its foundations. Rightly or wrongly, these troubles were attributed to President Van Buren and his party, as resulting from the policy they had pursued. His popularity waned rapidly, and at the Presidential election in 1840, in which he was a candidate for re-election, he was overwhelmingly defeated.

Retiring to Lindenwald, his fine estate near Kinderhook, Van Buren, in 1844, endeavored to procure a re-nomination for the Presidency, but was unsuccessful, though a majority of delegates was pledged to support him. His defeat was due to the opposition of Southern members, based on the fact that he had written a letter adverse to the annexation of Texas.

In 1848, he was brought forward by the Free-soil Democrats. Though not elected, the party which had nominated him showed unexpected strength, nearly three hundred thousand votes having been cast in his favor.

Mr. Van Buren now retired from public life. Fourteen years later, at the age of eighty, on the 24th of July, 1862, he died at Lindenwald. He was a man of more than ordinary ability, of cultivated manners, and genial disposition. Though shrewd, he was not a dishonest politician. His private character was beyond reproach. He deserves a conspicuous position among those who have been worthy successors of our immortal first President.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, ninth President of the United States, was born at Berkeley, on the banks of the James River, in Virginia, on the 9th of February, 1773. His father, Benjamin Harrison, was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and for several years Governor of Virginia. Having received a good education at Hampden-Sidney College, young Harrison began the study of medicine; but the barbarities of the savages on our northwestern frontier having excited his sympathies in behalf of the suffering settlers, he determined to enter the army, as being a place where he could do good service. Accordingly, in 1791, shortly after St. Clair's defeat, he obtained from President Washington a commission as ensign in the artillery. Though winter was coming on, he at once set out on foot across the wilderness to Pittsburg, whence he descended the Ohio to Fort Washington, now Cincinnati. He soon became a favorite with his superiors, and by his bravery in battle speedily attained the rank of captain. In 1797, when but twenty-four years old, having recently married, he resigned his commission, to accept the secretaryship of the Northwest Territory. In 1801, he was appointed Governor of "the Indiana Territory," comprising the present

States of Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin. This office he filled satisfactorily to both whites and Indians for twelve years, during which time he negotiated many excellent treaties.

During the summer of 1811, the Indians of the Northwest, under the lead of the celebrated Tecumseh, and instigated, it is thought, by the emissaries of England, with whom we were upon the point of going to war, broke out into open hostility. Collecting a considerable force of militia and volunteers, Harrison took the field. On the 7th of November, he encountered and defeated Tecumseh on the banks of the Tippecanoe River. This was one of the most hotly contested battles ever fought between the Indians and the whites. Its victorious results added greatly to Harrison's already high reputation; and in 1812, after Hull's ignominious surrender of Detroit, he was appointed commander-in-chief of the Army of the Northwest. Invested with almost absolute power, he displayed an energy, sagacity, and courage which justified the confidence reposed in him. By almost superhuman exertions, he managed to collect an army. Perry, on the 10th of September, 1813, having defeated the British fleet on Lake Erie, Harrison, who had been waiting the course of events, now hastened to take the field. Crossing into Canada, he repossessed Detroit, and, pushing on in pursuit of the flying enemy, finally brought them to a stand on the banks of

the Thames. Here, after a brief but sanguinary contest, the British and their savage allies were defeated with heavy loss. Tecumseh, the leading spirit of the Indians, was left dead on the field. Harrison's triumph was complete and decisive.

Shortly after this victory, which gave peace to the Northwest, Harrison, having had some difficulty with the Secretary of War, threw up his commission, but was appointed by the President to negotiate a treaty with the Indians. In 1816, he was elected to the lower house of Congress, where he gained considerable reputation, both as an active working member and as an eloquent and effective speaker. In 1824, he was [illegible] from Ohio to the United States Senate. In [illegible] he was appointed by John Quincy Adams Minister to the Republic of Colombia; but President Jackson, who bore him no good-will, the following year recalled him. On his return home, he retired to his farm at North Bend, on the Ohio River, and was presently elected clerk of the Hamilton County Court. In 1836, he was one of the four candidates who ran against Van Buren for the Presidency. Jackson's favorite, as we have seen, came out ahead in this race. But, though Harrison was not elected, there was such evidence of his popularity as to warrant the Whigs in uniting upon him as their candidate in the campaign of 1840.

That campaign was a memorable one. It was, perhaps, the most exciting, yet, at the same time,

one of the freest from extreme partisan bitterness, of any Presidential canvass ever known. As "the hero of Tippecanoe" and "the log-cabin candidate," which latter phrase was first used in contempt, Harrison swept everything before him, securing two hundred and thirty-four out of the two hundred and ninety-four electoral votes cast, and this, too, in spite of all the efforts of Jackson to prevent his success. His journey to be inaugurated was one continued ovation. His inauguration, which took place on the 4th of March, 1841, was witnessed by a vast concourse of people from all parts of the Union. His address, by the moderation of its tone, and by its plain, practical, common-sense views, confirmed his immense popularity. Selecting for his Cabinet some of the most eminent public men of the country, he began his Administration with the brightest prospects. But, in the midst of these pleasing anticipations, he was suddenly attacked by a fit of sickness, which, in a few days terminated in his death, on the 4th of April, just one month after his inauguration. His last words, spoken in the delirium of fever, were characteristic of the conscientiousness with which he had accepted the responsibilities of the Presidential office. "Sir," he said, as if, conscious of his approaching end, he were addressing his successor, "I wish you to understand the principles of the Government. I wish them carried out. I ask nothing more."

The sudden and unexpected death of President Harrison threw the whole country into mourning. Much had been hoped from him, as one who had the best interests of every portion of the Union at heart. There was a noble simplicity in his character which had won all hearts. Without being brilliant, his was an intellect of solid, substantial worth. He was a frank, guileless-hearted man, of incorruptible integrity, and stands forth among our Presidents, brief as was his official term, as a noble representative of the plain, practical, honest yeomanry of the land. "Not one single spot," says Abbott, "can be found to sully the brightness of his fame; and through all the ages, Americans will pronounce with love and reverence the name of William Henry Harrison."

JOHN TYLER.

ON the death of General Harrison, April 4th, 1841, for the first time in our history the administration of the Government devolved on the Vice-President. The gentleman thus elevated to the Presidency was John Tyler, the son of a wealthy landholder of Virginia, at one time Governor of that State. Born in Charles City County, March 29th, 1790, young Tyler, at the age of seventeen, graduated from William and Mary College with the reputation of

having delivered the best commencement oration ever heard by the faculty. When only nineteen he began to practice law, rising to eminence in his profession with surprising rapidity. Two years later he was elected to the Legislature. After serving five successive terms in the Legislature, he was, in 1816, in 1817, and again in 1819, elected to Congress. Compelled by ill-health to resign his seat in Congress, he was, in 1825, chosen Governor of the State. In 1827, he was elected to the United States Senate over the celebrated John Randolph, of Roanoke.

During the whole of his Congressional career, Mr. Tyler was an earnest advocate of the strict construction doctrines of the then Democratic party, opposing the United States Bank, a protective tariff, internal improvements by the General Government, and, in short, all measures tending to the centralization of power. He was also an ardent opponent of any restrictions upon slavery, and avowed his sympathies with the nullification theories of Calhoun. On this last subject he finally came into the opposition against Jackson. In the session of 1833–'34, he voted for Clay's resolutions censuring Jackson for his removal of the deposits. In 1836, when the Virginia Legislature instructed its representatives in Congress to vote for the rescinding of these resolutions, Mr. Tyler, who had early committed himself to the right of instruction, could not conscientiously

comply with the request of the Legislature, nor hold his seat in disregard of its mandate, and accordingly resigned. In 1838, he was again sent to the Legislature, and, in 1839, we find him a delegate to the Whig National Convention, which, at Harrisburg, nominated Harrison and himself as candidates for President and Vice-President. Of the campaign which followed, and of the subsequent death of Harrison, we have already given an account.

On receiving tidings of the President's death, Mr. Tyler hastened to Washington, and, on the 6th of April, was inaugurated, and he retained all the Cabinet officers Harrison had appointed. Three days later, he issued an inaugural address, which was well received, both by the public and by his partisan friends, who, knowing his antecedents, had been somewhat dubious as to what policy he would pursue. But this was only the calm before the storm. Tyler's veto of the bill for a "fiscal bank of the United States," led to a complete rupture with the party by which he had been elected, who charged him with treachery to his principles. Attempting conciliation, he only displeased the Democrats, who had at first shown a disposition to stand by him, without regaining the favor of the Whigs. In consequence of this course of action, Tyler's Cabinet all resigned and in their places several Democrats were appointed.

During his Administration several very important measures were adopted. Among them the act establishing a uniform system of bankruptcy, passed in 1841, the tariff law of 1842, and the scheme for the annexation of Texas, which, by the vigorous efforts of the President, was brought to a successful issue by the passage of joint resolutions in Congress, on the 1st of March, 1845, just three days before the close of his term. The formal act of annexation, however, was not passed until a later period. One new State—Florida—was also admitted into the Union under Mr. Tyler's Administration, in 1845.

After his retirement from the Presidency, on the 4th of March, 1845, Mr. Tyler remained in private life at his beautiful home of Sherwood Forest, in Charles City County, till, in 1861, he appeared as a member of the Peace Convention, composed of delegates from the "Border States," which met at Washington to endeavor to arrange terms of compromise between the seceded States and the General Government. Of this Convention, which accomplished nothing, he was president.

Subsequently, Mr. Tyler renounced his allegiance to the United States, and was chosen a member of the Confederate Congress. While acting in this capacity he was taken sick at Richmond, where he died after a brief illness, on the 17th of January, 1862.

JAMES KNOX POLK.

MECKLENBURG County, North Carolina, has the distinction of being the birthplace of two Presidents of the United States—Andrew Jackson and James Knox Polk—the latter of whom was born there on the 2d of November, 1795. Like his friend and neighbor, General Jackson, Mr. Polk was of Scotch-Irish descent. It was his great-uncle, Colonel Thomas Polk, who, on the 19th of May, 1775, read from the steps of the court-house, at Charlotte, that famous "Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence," to which reference has been made in our sketch of Jefferson. James at a very early age manifested decided literary tastes. After a vain attempt to induce him to become a storekeeper, his father finally consented to his entering the University of North Carolina, at Chapel Hill, from which, in his twenty-third year, he graduated with the highest honors. Studying law at Nashville, Tennessee, where he renewed a former acquaintance with General Jackson, he was admitted to the bar, and commenced practice at Columbia.

In 1823, he was elected to the Legislature of Tennessee, and during the following year was married to Miss Sarah Childress, a beautiful and accomplished young lady, of refined manners and

rare social gifts. In the fall of 1825, he was elected to Congress, where he remained the next fourteen years, during five sessions occupying the responsible and honorable position of Speaker of the House, the duties of which he performed with a dignity and dispassionateness which won for him the warmest encomiums from all parties. In 1839, he was chosen Governor of Tennessee. Again a candidate in 1841, and also in 1843, he was both times defeated,—a result due to one of those periodical revolutions in politics which seem inseparable from republican forms of government, rather than to Mr. Polk's lack of personal popularity.

As the avowed friend of the annexation of Texas, Mr. Polk, in 1844, was nominated by the Democrats for the Presidency. Though he had for his opponent no less a person than the great and popular orator and statesman, Henry Clay, he received one hundred and seventy out of two hundred and seventy-five votes in the electoral college. He was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1845. Three days previously, his predecessor, John Tyler, had signed the joint resolutions of Congress favoring the annexation of Texas to the United States. Consequently, at the very beginning of his Administration, Mr. Polk found the country involved in disputes with Mexico, which, on the formal annexation of Texas, in December, 1845, threatened to result in hostilities between

the two countries. General Zachary Taylor was sent with a small army to occupy the territory stretching from the Neuces to the Rio Grande, which latter stream Texas claimed as her western boundary. Mexico, on the other hand, declaring that Texas had never extended further west than the Neuces, dispatched a force to watch Taylor. A slight collision, in April, 1846, was followed, a few days later, by the battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, in which General Taylor was victorious. When the tidings of these battles reached Washington, the President, on May 11th, sent a special message to Congress, declaring "that war existed by the act of Mexico," and asking for men and money to carry it on. Congress promptly voted ten million dollars, and authorized the President to call out fifty thousand volunteers. Hostilities were prosecuted vigorously. An American army, under General Scott, finally fought its way to the capture of the City of Mexico. On the 2d of February, 1848, the treaty of Guadaloupe Hidalgo was signed, and ratified by the Senate on the 10th of March following, by which New Mexico and Upper California, comprising a territory of more than half a million square miles, were added to the United States. In return, the United States agreed to pay Mexico fifteen million of dollars, and to assume the debts due by Mexico to citizens of the United States, amounting to three and a half millions more.

Besides Texas, two other States were admitted into the Union during Mr. Polk's Administration. These were Iowa and Wisconsin—the former in 1846 and the latter in 1848.

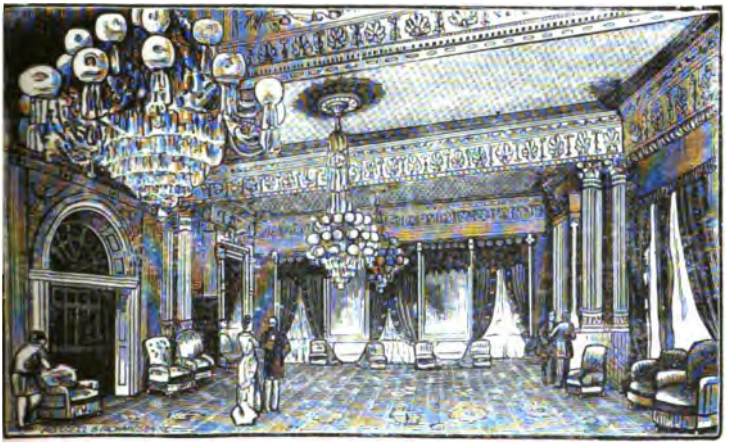
When the war with Mexico first broke out, negotiations were pending between England and the United States, in regard to Oregon, which we had long deemed a portion of our own territory. "Fifty-four forty [54° 40′] or fight!" had been one of the Democratic battle-cries during the canvass which resulted in Mr. Polk's election, and he, in his inaugural, had maintained that our title to Oregon was unquestionable. England, however, still urged her claim to the whole country. After considerable negotiation, the President finally, as an amicable compromise, offered the boundary of the parallel of 49°, giving Vancouver's Island to Great Britain. His offer was accepted, and war perhaps avoided. Another important measure of Mr. Polk's Administration was a modification of the tariff, in 1846, by which its former protective features were much lessened.

On his nomination, in 1844, Mr. Polk had pledged himself to the one-term principle. Consequently he was not a candidate for re-election in 1848. Having witnessed the inauguration of his successor, General Taylor, he returned to his home near Nashville. "He was then," says Abbott, but fifty-four years of age. He had ever been strictly temperate in his habits, and his health was

good. With an ample fortune, a choice library, a cultivated mind, and domestic ties of the dearest nature, it seemed as though long years of tranquillity and happiness were before him." But it was not so to be. On his way home he felt premonitory symptoms of cholera, and when he reached there his system was much weakened. Though at first able to work a little in superintending the fitting up of his grounds, he was soon compelled to take to his bed. He never rose from it again. Though finally the disease was checked, he had not strength left to bring on the necessary reaction. "He died without a struggle, simply ceasing to breathe, as when deep and quiet sleep falls upon a weary man," on the 15th of June, 1849, a little more than three months after his retirement from the Presidency. His remains lie in the spacious lawn of his former home, where his widow still lives (1884).

ZACHARY TAYLOR,

TWELFTH President of the United States, was born in Orange County, Virginia, November 24th, 1784. His father, Colonel Richard Taylor, was a noted Revolutionary officer. His mother, as is usually the case with the mothers of men who have risen to distinction, was a woman of great force of character. Whilst he



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was yet an infant, his parents removed to the then wilderness near the present city of Louisville. Here in the depths of the forest swarming with hostile savages, young Taylor found few educational advantages, though the training he received was no doubt one to develop those military qualities he subsequently displayed. He grew up a rugged, brave, self-reliant youth, with more of a certain frank, almost blunt, off-handedness, than exterior polish.

In 1808, he received a lieutenant's commission in the army, and in 1810 married Margaret Smith. His military career fairly opened in 1812, when he was sent to the defense of our western border. While in command of Fort Harrison, on the Wabash, with a garrison of but fifty-two men, he was suddenly attacked by a band of Indians, who succeeded in setting fire to the fort. But the young captain with his handful of men extinguished the flames, and forced the enemy to retreat. For this gallant exploit, he received a brevet major's commission.

Nothing remarkable occurred in his life for many years subsequent, until, in 1837, we find him a colonel in Florida, operating against the Seminoles. On Christmas Day of that year he won the battle of Okechobee, one of the most fiercely contested actions in the annals of Indian warfare. The Seminoles never rallied again in formidable numbers. For his signal services in

this affair Taylor was made a brigadier, and appointed Commander-in-chief. This post he retained till 1840, when, having purchased an estate near Baton Rouge, in Louisiana, he was, at his own request, placed in the command of the Department of the Southwest.

While still holding this command in the spring of 1845, Congress having passed joint resolutions for the annexation of Texas, General Taylor was sent with four thousand troops to Corpus Christi, on the west bank of the Neuces, and in territory claimed by both Mexico and Texas. It has been said that it was the secret object of our Government to provoke a conflict with Mexico, yet so that the responsibility of it should appear to rest upon General Taylor. If such was the object, the scheme signally failed. Taylor made no move without explicit orders. It was by the President's positive command that, on the 8th of March, 1846, the wary old General began his march into the disputed district lying between the Neuces and the Rio Grande. Reaching the latter stream on the 28th, he built Fort Brown immediately opposite the Mexican town of Matamoras. On the 12th of March the Mexican commander peremptorily ordered Taylor to retire beyond the Neuces. A refusal to do this, he said, would be regarded as a declaration of war. General Taylor replied that his instructions would not permit him to retire, and that if the Mexicans saw fit to com-

mence hostilities he would not shrink from the conflict. Six thousand Mexicans at once crossed the Rio Grande. With less than three thousand troops, Taylor, on the 8th of April, attacked and defeated them at Palo Alto. Rallying in a strong position at Resaca de la Palma, the Mexicans were again attacked, and after a stubborn fight driven back across the river with great loss. These victories were hailed with the wildest enthusiasm throughout the country, and Taylor was promoted to a major-generalship.

Moving rapidly forward to Monterey, he took that strongly fortified city, after a desperate fight of three days. Making it his headquarters, the victor was preparing for an important move, when General Scott, who was about to lead an expedition against Vera Cruz, took away the best part of his troops, leaving him with only five thousand men, mostly raw volunteers. Hearing of this, Santa Anna, undoubtedly the ablest of the Mexican generals, with twenty thousand picked men, pushed rapidly down the Rio Grande with the design of overpowering Taylor's little army. The latter, on the 21st of February, 1847, took position at Buena Vista and awaited the approach of his antagonist, who made his appearance the following day, and at once began a fierce attack. Never was battle fought with more desperate courage or greater skill. Three times during the day victory seemed with the Mexicans; but finally the

stubborn valor of Taylor's little band won the field.

The tidings of this brilliant victory excited the greatest enthusiasm and gained an imperishable renown for the triumphant General. On his return home in November, "Old Rough and Ready," as his soldiers familiarly called him, was greeted everywhere by the warmest demonstrations of popular applause. Even before this he had been nominated at public meetings for the Presidency; and now the Whigs, casting about for a popular candidate, made him their party nominee. Notwithstanding the defection from their ranks of Henry Wilson and others, who were opposed to Taylor as being a slave-holder, he was elected by a respectable majority, receiving one hundred and sixty-three electoral votes. His inauguration took place on Monday, March 5th, 1849.

Though he selected an excellent Cabinet, the old soldier found himself in a trying position. A vehement struggle had commenced in Congress about the organization of the new Territories, the admission of California, and the settlement of the boundary between Texas and New Mexico, all these questions being connected with the great and absorbing one of the extension or non-extension of slavery. Taylor, in his message to Congress, recommended the admission of California as a free State, and that the remaining Territories should be allowed to form State Con-

stitutions to suit themselves. Nothing could have been more distasteful to the extremists of the South, many of whom made open threats of secession in case of the adoption of the President's suggestions. To adjust the difficulty, Mr. Clay, in the Senate, introduced his "compromise measures," which were still under debate, when, on the 4th of July, 1850, General Taylor was seized with bilious fever, of which he died on the 9th at the Presidential Mansion. His last words were: "I have tried to do my duty."

MILLARD FILLMORE.

ON the death of General Taylor, his successor, according to the Constitution, was the Vice-President. The gentleman then filling that position was Millard Fillmore, an eminent lawyer of New York. He was comparatively a young man, having been born on the 7th of January, 1800, at Summer Hill, Cayuga County, New York. His father being poor, his means of education had been limited. Apprenticed at the age of fourteen to a clothier, he found time during his evenings to gratify an insatiable thirst for knowledge by reading. His studious habits, fine personal appearance, and gentlemanly bearing having attracted the attention of a lawyer in the neighborhood, that gentleman offered to receive

him in his office and to assist him pecuniarily until he should be admitted to the bar. This offer young Fillmore, then in his nineteenth year, thankfully accepted. With this help, and by teaching during the winters, he was enabled to prosecute his studies to a successful issue, and in 1823 was admitted to the bar, opening an office in the village of Aurora, New York. In 1826, he married Miss Abigail Powers, a lady of eminent worth.

Mr. Fillmore steadily rose in his profession. In 1829, he was elected by the Whigs to the State Legislature, and soon afterward removed to Buffalo. In 1832, he was chosen a member of Congress, and again in 1837, but declined running a third time. He now had a wide reputation, and in the year 1847 was elected State Comptroller and removed to Albany. The following year, he was placed in nomination as Vice-President on the ticket with General Taylor. When, on the 5th of March, 1849, Taylor took the Presidential chair, Mr. Fillmore, by virtue of his office, became President of the United States Senate. Here, the first presiding officer to take so firm a step, he announced his determination, in spite of all precedents to the contrary, to promptly call Senators to order for any offensive words they might utter in debate.

When, after the unexpected death of General Taylor, on July 9th, 1850, the office of chief executive devolved upon Mr. Fillmore, he found

his position no easy or pleasant one. His political opponents had a majority in both houses of Congress. The controversy on the slavery question had embittered public feeling, and it required a skillful pilot to guide the ship of state safely through the perils by which she was surrounded. The compromise measures of Mr. Clay, to which we have already referred in our sketch of General Taylor, were finally passed, and received the approving signature of Mr. Fillmore. One of these measures was the admission of California as a free State; another was the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. These were thought to be concessions to the cause of freedom; while, on the other hand, to satisfy the pro-slavery agitators, a bill was passed to give the owners of slaves power to recapture fugitive slaves in any part of the free States and carry them back without a jury trial. But, though enacted in the hope of allaying sectional animosity, these measures brought about only a temporary calm, while they aggravated the violence of extremists both North and South.

The compromise measures and the fitting out of the famous Japan expedition were the principal features of Mr. Fillmore's otherwise uneventful Administration. On the 4th of March, 1853, he retired from office, and immediately afterward took a long tour through the Southern States, where he met with a cordial reception.

In 1855, Mr. Fillmore visited Europe. He was everywhere received with those marks of attention which, according to European ideas, are due to those who have occupied the most distinguished positions. On his return home, in 1856, he was nominated for the Presidency by the so-called "Know-nothing," or "American" party; but being very decidedly defeated, he retired to private life. He died at Buffalo, New York, on the 8th of March, 1874.

FRANKLIN PIERCE,

FOURTEENTH President of the United States, was born at Hillsborough, N. H., November 23d, 1804. His father, General Benjamin Pierce, was a soldier of the Revolution, and was a man of considerable local repute, having also served as Governor of New Hampshire. Graduating from Bowdoin College in 1824, Mr. Pierce studied law with the celebrated Levi Woodbury, and commenced practice in his native town in 1837. He married in 1834. He early entered the political field and, in 1833, after having previously served several terms in the State Legislature, was elected to Congress. Here he showed himself an earnest State-rights Democrat, and was regarded as a fair working member. In 1837, when but thirty-three years of age, he was

elected to the National Senate and, during the following year, removed to Concord, where he at once took rank among the leading lawyers of the State.

Though Mr. Pierce had declined the office of Attorney-General of the United States, offered to him by President Polk, he, nevertheless, when hostilities were declared against Mexico, accepted a brigadier-generalship in the army, successfully marching with twenty-four hundred men from the sea-coast to Puebla, where he reinforced General Scott. The latter, on the arrival of Pierce, immediately prepared to make his long-contemplated attack upon the City of Mexico. At the battle of Contreras, on the 19th of August, 1847, where he led an assaulting column four thousand strong, General Pierce showed himself to be a brave and energetic soldier. Early in the fight his leg was broken by his horse falling upon him, yet he kept his saddle during the entire conflict, which did not cease till eleven o'clock at night. The next day also, he took part in the still more desperate fight at Churubusco, where, overcome by pain and exhaustion, he fainted on the field. At Molino Del Rey, where the hottest battle of the war was fought, he narrowly escaped death from a shell which bursted beneath his horse.

The American army triumphantly entered the City of Mexico on the 13th of September, 1847. General Pierce remained there until the following

December, when he returned home and resumed the practice of his profession. In the Democratic Convention which met at Baltimore, June 1st, 1852, Cass, Buchanan, and Douglas were the prominent candidates. After thirty-five indecisive ballots Franklin Pierce was proposed, and on the forty-ninth ballot he was nominated for the Presidency. He was elected by an overwhelming majority, and was inaugurated Chief Magistrate on the 4th of March, 1853, receiving two hundred and fifty-four electoral votes, while his opponent, General Winfield Scott, received but forty-two.

Though both the great parties of the country had adopted platforms favoring the recent compromise measures of Clay, and deprecating any renewal of the agitation of the slavery question, General Pierce's Administration, by reason of the bringing up of that very question, was one of the most stormy in our history. Douglas's bill for the organization of Kansas and Nebraska, by which the Missouri Compromise Act of 1820 was repealed allowing slavery to enter where it had been forever excluded, and which, having the support of the President, became a law on the last day of May, 1853, excited the most intense indignation in the free States, and greatly increased the strength of the anti-slavery power. In Kansas a bitter contest, almost attaining the proportions of civil war, began between the partisans of the South and the North. This contest was

still raging when Mr. Pierce's term drew to its close. Other events of his Administration were the bombardment of Greytown, in Central America, under orders from our Government; efforts under Government direction for the acquisition of Cuba; and the use of the President's official influence and patronage against the Anti-Slavery settlers of Kansas.

His friends sought to obtain his nomination for a second term, but did not succeed. On the 4th of March, 1857, therefore, he retired to his home at Concord. That home, already bereaved by the loss of three promising boys—his only children, —was now to have a still greater loss,—that of the wife and afflicted mother, who, grief-stricken at the sudden death, by a railroad accident, of her last boy, sunk under consumption, leaving Mr. Pierce alone in the world—wifeless as well as childless.

The sorrowing ex-President soon after took a trip to Madeira, and made a protracted tour in Europe, returning home in 1860. During the Civil War he delivered in Concord a speech, still known as the "Mausoleum of Hearts Speech," in which he is regarded as having expressed a decided sympathy for the Confederates. He died at Concord on the 8th of October, 1869, having lost much of his hold on the respect of his fellow-citizens, both North and South, by his lack of decision for either.

JAMES BUCHANAN,

FIFTEENTH President of the United States, was born in Franklin County, Pa., April 22d, 1791. His father, a native of the North of Ireland, who had come eight years before to America, with no capital but his strong arms and energetic spirit, was yet able to give the bright and studious boy a good collegiate education at Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa., where he graduated in 1809. He then began the study of law at Lancaster, and, after a three years' course, was admitted to practice in 1812. He rose rapidly in his profession, the business of which increased with his reputation, so that, at the age of forty, he was enabled to retire with an ample fortune.

Mr. Buchanan early entered into politics. When but twenty-three years old, he was elected to the Legislature of Pennsylvania. Though an avowed Federalist, he not only spoke in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the War of 1812, but likewise marched as a private soldier to the defense of Baltimore. In 1820, he was elected to the lower House of Congress, where he speedily attained eminence as a finished and energetic speaker. His political views are shown in the following extract from one of his speeches in Congress: "If I know myself, I am a politician

neither of the West nor the East, of the North nor of the South. I therefore shall forever avoid any expressions the direct tendency of which must be to create sectional jealousies, and at length disunion—that worst of all political calamities." That he sincerely endeavored in his future career to act in accordance with the principles here enunciated no candid mind can doubt, however much he may be regarded to have failed in doing so, especially during the eventful last months of his Administration.

In 1831, at the close of his fifth term, Mr. Buchanan, having declined a re-election to Congress, was sent as Minister Plenipotentiary to St. Petersburg, where he concluded the first commercial treaty between the United States and Russia. On his return home in 1833, he was elected to the National Senate. Here he became one of the leading spirits among the supporters of President Jackson, and also supported the Administration of Martin Van Buren. He was re-elected to the Senate, and his last act as a Senator was to report favorably on the admission of Texas, he being the only member of the Committee on Foreign Relations to do so.

On the election of Polk to the Presidency, in 1845, Mr. Buchanan was selected to fill the important position of Secretary of State. He strongly opposed the "Wilmot Proviso," and all other provisions for the restriction of slavery.

At the close of Polk's term, he withdrew to private life, but was subsequently sent by President Pierce as our Minister to England. It was while acting in this capacity that he united with Mason and Soulé in the once celebrated "Ostend Manifesto," in which strong ground was taken in favor of the annexation of Cuba to the United States, by purchase, if possible, but if necessary, by force.

Returning home in 1856, he was nominated as the Democratic candidate for the Presidency, and, after a stormy campaign, elected, receiving one hundred and seventy-four out of three hundred and three electoral votes. His opponents were John C. Fremont, Republican, and Millard Fillmore, American. He was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1857. With the exception of a slight difficulty with the Mormons in Utah, and of the admission into the Union of Minnesota in 1858, and of Oregon in 1859, the chief interest of Mr. Buchanan's Administration centered around the slavery controversy.

At the time of his inauguration, it is true, the country looked confidently forward to a period of political quiet. But, unhappily, the Kansas difficulty had not been settled. The Free-State party in that territory refused obedience to the laws passed by the local Legislature, on the grounds that that Legislature had been elected by fraudulent means. They even chose a rival Legislature, which, however, the President refused to recog-

nize. Meanwhile the so-called regular Legislature, which Congress had sanctioned, passed a bill for the election of delegates by the people to frame a State Constitution for Kansas. An election was accordingly held; the Convention met, and after a stormy and protracted session, completed its work. The Lecompton Constitution, as it was called, when laid before Congress, met with strong opposition from the Republicans, on the ground that it had been fraudulently concocted. The President, however, gave it all his influence, believing that it would bring peace to the country, while not preventing Kansas from being a free State, should its people so desire; and finally, after a struggle of extraordinary violence and duration, it received the sanction of Congress.

But quiet was not restored. In the North, the feeling against the President and his party became intense. The election in 1860 resulted in the triumph of Abraham Lincoln, the Republican candidate for the Presidency. The period between Lincoln's election and his inauguration was one of peculiar trial to President Buchanan. An attempt to incite a slave insurrection, made at Harper's Ferry, in 1859, by John Brown, of Kansas, for which he was hanged by the authorities of Virginia, had created a profound sensation in the South, where it was regarded by many as indicative of the fixed purpose of the North to destroy slavery at all hazards. The election of Lincoln following

so soon after this event, added strength to their apprehensions. As soon as the result of the canvass became known, South Carolina seceded from the Union. Mr. Buchanan, apparently regarding the fears and complaints of the South as not without some just grounds, seems to have endeavored to bring about a peaceful solution of the difficulties before him by attempts at conciliation. But however good his intentions may have been, his policy, which has been characterized as weak, vacillating, and cowardly, so signally failed, that when, on the 4th of March, 1861, he retired from the Presidency, he handed over to his successor an almost hopelessly divided Union, from which seven States had already seceded.

Mr. Buchanan also used his influence for the purchase of Cuba as a means of extending slave territory. He permitted the seizure of Southern forts and arsenals, and the removal of muskets from Northern to Southern armories as the secession movements matured, and in his message of December, 1860, he directly cast upon the North the blame of the disrupted Union.

Remaining in Washington long enough to witness the installation of Mr. Lincoln, Mr. Buchanan withdrew to the privacy of Wheatland, his country home, near Lancaster, in Pennsylvania. Here he spent the remainder of his days, taking no prominent part in public affairs. In 1866, he published a volume entitled, *Mr. Buchanan's*

Administration, in which he explained and defended the policy he had pursued while in the Presidential office. He never married. His death occurred at his mansion at Wheatland, on the 1st of June, 1868.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN,

SIXTEENTH President of the Union, was born in Hardin County, Kentucky, on the 12th of February, 1809. His parents were extremely poor, and could give him but scant opportunities of education. It is supposed that his ancestors came to this country from England among the original followers of William Penn. About the middle of the last century they lived in Berks County, Pennsylvania, whence one branch of the family moved to Virginia. The subject of this sketch was taught to read and write by his mother, a woman of intelligence far above her humble station. When he was in his eighth year, the family removed to the then wilderness of Spencer County, Indiana, where, in the course of three or four years, the boy Abraham, who was quick and eager to learn, had a chance to acquire the rudiments of the more ordinary branches of such a common-school education as was to be obtained in that rude frontier district; but his mother died when he was about eleven years old,

which was to him a sad loss. At the age of nineteen, he set out in a flat-boat, containing a cargo of considerable value, on a voyage to New Orleans. While passing down the Mississippi, they were attacked by a thieving band of negroes, but they courageously beat off the robbers, and succeeded in reaching their destination safely.

In 1830, Lincoln's father removed to Decatur County, Illinois. Here Abraham assisted in establishing the new home. It was on this occasion that he split the famous rails from which, years after, he received his name of "the rail-splitter." During the severe winter which followed, by his exertions and skill as a hunter, he contributed greatly in keeping the family from starvation. The next two years he passed through as a farm-hand and as a clerk in a country store. In the Black-Hawk War, which broke out in 1832, he served creditably as a volunteer, and on his return home ran for the Legislature, but was defeated. He next tried store-keeping, but failed; and then, having learned something of surveying, worked two or three years quite successfully as a surveyor for the Government. In 1834, he was elected to the Legislature, in which he did the extremely unpopular act of recording his name against some pro-slavery legislation of that body. He soon after took up the study of law, being admitted to the bar in 1837, when he removed to Springfield, and began to practice. John T. Stuart

TYLER.
POLK.
TAYLOR.
FILLMORE.
LINCOLN.
PIERCE.
BUCHANAN.
JOHNSON.
GRANT.

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was his business partner. In 1842, he married Miss Mary Todd, daughter of Robert S. Todd, Esq., of Lexington, Kentucky. He rose rapidly in his profession, to which having served a second term in the Legislature, he devoted himself assiduously till 1844, during which year he canvassed the State in behalf of Mr. Clay, the Whig candidate for the Presidency. In 1847, he took his seat in the lower house of Congress, where he was the only Whig from the whole State of Illinois. Serving but a single term in Congress, Mr. Lincoln, in 1848, canvassed the State for General Taylor, and the following year was an unsuccessful candidate for a seat in the United States Senate. He now renewed his devotion to his legal pursuits, yet still retained a deep interest in national politics.

The repeal of the Missouri Compromise, which created a profound sensation throughout the entire North, brought about a complete political revolution in Illinois, and the State went over to the Whigs. In this revolution Mr. Lincoln took a most active part, and gained a wide reputation as an effective stump speaker. In 1856, he was brought prominently before the first Republican National Convention, and came very near being nominated as its candidate for the Vice-Presidency. In 1858, as Republican candidate for United States Senator, he canvassed Illinois in opposition to Judge Douglas, the Democratic nominee.

Douglas was, perhaps, one of the most effective public speakers of the time, yet it is generally conceded that Lincoln, though he failed to obtain the Senatorship, was fully equal to his distinguished and no doubt more polished opponent. The rare versatility and comprehensiveness of Mr. Lincoln's mind found full illustration in this exciting contest.

During the next eighteen months, Mr. Lincoln visited various parts of the country, delivering speeches of marked ability and power; and when, in May, 1860, the Republican National Convention met at Chicago, he was, on the third ballot, chosen as its candidate for the Presidency. In consequence of a division in the Democratic party, he was elected, receiving one hundred and eighty out of three hundred and three electoral votes. In the popular vote the result was as follows: Lincoln, 1,887,610; Douglas, 1,291,574; Breckenridge, Pro-slavery Democrat, 880,082; Bell, Constitutional-Union party, 646,124: thus leaving Lincoln in the minority of the popular vote by nearly a million.

The election of Lincoln was at once made a pretext for dissolving the Union. Though he had repeatedly declared his intention not to interfere with the existing institutions of the South, and to hold inviolate his official oath to maintain the Constitution, all was of no avail to dissuade that section from its predetermined purpose. A

month before he was inaugurated six Southern States, having solemnly withdrawn from the Union, met in convention and framed the Constitution of a new and independent Confederacy.

The President-elect left his home in Springfield on the 11th of February, 1861, and proceeded by a somewhat circuitous route to Washington, delivering short, pithy addresses in the larger towns and cities through which he passed. He also visited the Legislatures of several Northern States, everywhere reiterating his purpose, while not disturbing the domestic relations of the South, to maintain the Union intact at all hazards. Though informed at Philadelphia that a plot had been formed for his assassination in Baltimore, he reached Washington on February 23d without molestation, and on the 4th of March was duly inaugurated in the presence of an immense assemblage from all parts of the country.

In his inaugural address the new President, assuring the people of the South that he had taken the oath to support the Constitution unreservedly, and that there were no grounds for any fear that "their property," peace, or persons were to be endangered, declared it to be his firm intention to execute the laws, collect duties and imposts, and to hold the public properties in all the States—with no bloodshed, however, unless it should be forced upon the national authority.

On entering upon the duties of his office, Mr. Lincoln found the condition of affairs far from encouraging. Seven States had already withdrawn from the Union, and others were preparing to follow their example. The credit of the Government was low; the army and navy not only small and inefficient, but scattered all through our wide domain; and the greater part of the public arms, through the treachery of certain officials, were in the possession of the seceded States. Still, he was hopeful and buoyant, and believed that the pending difficulties would soon be adjusted. Even when, on the 14th of April, 1861, the bombardment and capture of Fort Sumter by a Confederate Army roused the North to intense action, though he immediately issued a call for 75,000 volunteers, it was seemingly with but a faint idea that they would be needed. The fact that they were summoned for only three months—a period far from long enough for the organization of so large a body of men—is of itself sufficient evidence of the delusion under which he was laboring.

The battle of Bull Run, on the 21st of July, 1861, which resulted in the total route of the Government forces, in a great measure dispelled this delusion. The real magnitude of the contest now began to show itself to Mr. Lincoln. Yet his courage never faltered, nor was he less hopeful of the final triumph of the Union. Cheerfully

accepting the burden of cares and responsibilities so suddenly thrown upon him, he put his whole heart in the work before him, and not even the disasters of 1862, that gloomiest year of the war, could for a moment shake his confiding spirit. People were not wanting who found fault with the buoyant temper he displayed at that period; but his apparent cheeriness was of as much avail as our armies in bringing about the triumph which at last came.

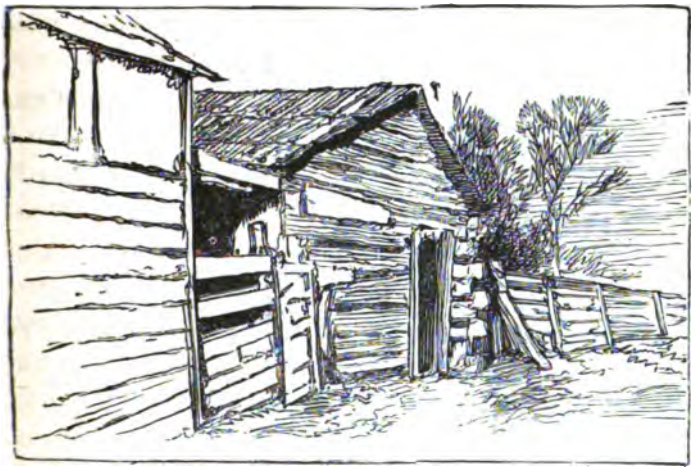
Of the struggle which resulted in this triumph we shall give no details, only referring briefly to some of the more important actions of the President. The most momentous of these, without doubt, was the Emancipation Proclamation, issued on the 22d of September, 1862, and to take effect on the 1st of January, 1863, by which slavery was at once and forever done away with in the United States. In his message to Congress, the President thus explains this act: "In giving freedom to the slave we assure freedom to the free, honorable alike in what we give and what we preserve. We shall nobly save, or meanly lose, the last, best hope of earth. * * * The way is plain, peaceful, glorious, just—a way which, if followed, the world will forever applaud and God must forever bless."

In 1864, by a respectable majority in the popular vote and a large one in the electoral college, Mr. Lincoln was re-elected to the Presidency.

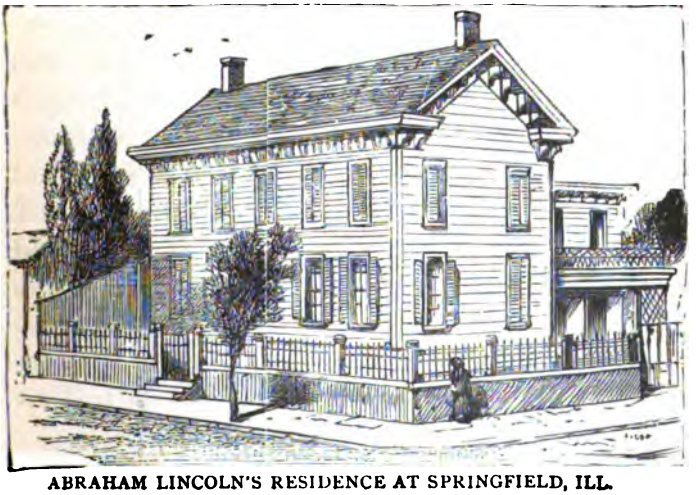
At the period of his second inauguration, the complete triumph of the Federal authority over the seceded States was assured. The last battles of the war had been fought. War had substantially ceased. The President was looking forward to the more congenial work of pacification. How he designed to carry out this work we may judge from the following passage in his second inaugural: "With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphans, to do all that may achieve and cherish a just and a lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

Unfortunately, the kind-hearted Lincoln was not to carry out the work of pacification to which he looked forward with such bright anticipations. But a little more than a month after his second inauguration—on the night of the 14th of April, 1865—John Wilkes Booth, one of a small band of desperate conspirators, as insanely foolish as they were wicked, fired a pistol-ball into the brain of the President as he sat in his box at the theatre. The wound proved fatal in a few hours, Mr. Lincoln never recovering his consciousness.

The excitement which the assassination of the President occasioned was most intense. The whole country was in tears. Nor was this grief



BIRTH-PLACE OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN, ELIZABETHTOWN, KY.



ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S RESIDENCE AT SPRINGFIELD, ILL.

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confined to our own people. England, France, all Europe, and even the far-off countries of China and Japan, joined in the lamentation. Never was man more universally mourned, or more deserving of such widespread sorrow.

The funeral honors were grand and imposing. His body, having been embalmed, was taken to his home at Springfield, Illinois, passing through Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, Albany, Buffalo, Cleveland, Chicago, and other large towns and cities. The entire road seemed to be lined with mourners, while in the chief cities the funeral ceremonies were equally solemn and magnificent.

ANDREW JOHNSON,

THE constitutional successor to President Lincoln, was born in Raleigh, N. C., December 29th, 1808. Prevented by the poverty of his parents from receiving any schooling, he was apprenticed, at the age of ten, to a tailor. On the expiration of his apprenticeship, he went to Greenville, Tenn., where he married. By his wife he was taught to write and to cipher, having already learned to read. Taking considerable interest in local politics, he formed a workingman's party in the town, by which he was elected alderman, and afterward Mayor. In 1835, he was elected to a seat in the Legislature.

Failing of re-election in 1837, he was again successful in 1839; and in 1841, was elected to the State Senate. His ability was now recognized and, in 1843, he was sent to Congress as a Representative of the Democratic party. Having served five successive terms in Congress, he was, in 1853, elected Governor of Tennessee, and again in 1855. Two years later, he was called upon to represent Tennessee in the United States Senate, where he speedily rose to distinction as a man of great native energy. The free homestead bill, giving one hundred and sixty acres of the public land to every citizen who would settle upon it and cultivate it a certain number of years, owes its passage to his persistent advocacy. On the slavery question he generally went with the Democratic party, accepting slavery as an existing institution, protected by the Constitution.

In the Presidential canvass of 1860, Mr. Johnson was a supporter of Breckinridge, but took strong grounds against secession when that subject came up. His own State having voted itself out of the Union, it was at the peril of his life that he returned home in 1861. Attacked by a mob on a railroad car, he boldly faced his assailants, pistol in hand, and they slunk away. On the 4th of March, 1862, he was appointed Military Governor of Tennessee. He entered upon the duties of his office with a courage and vigor that soon entirely reversed the condition of affairs in

the State. By March, 1864, he had so far restored order that elections were held for State and County officers, and the usual machinery of civil government was once more set in motion.

On the 4th of March, 1865, Mr. Johnson was inaugurated as Vice-President of the United States. The assassination of President Lincoln, a little more than a month afterward, placed him in the vacant chief executive chair. Though Mr. Johnson made no distinct pledges, it was thought by the tone of his inaugural that he would pursue a severe course toward the seceded States. Yet the broad policy of restoration he finally adopted, met the earnest disapproval of the great party by which he had been elected. The main point at issue was, "whether the seceded States should be at once admitted to representation in Congress, and resume all the rights they had enjoyed before the Civil War, without further guarantees than the surrender of their armies, and with no provision for protecting the emancipated blacks."

Johnson, opposed to making any restrictive conditions, therefore persistently vetoed the various reconstructive measures adopted by Congress. Though these measures were finally passed over the President's vetoes by two-thirds of the votes of each house, yet his determined opposition to their policy, on the ground that it was unconstitutional, gave Congress great offense. This feeling finally became so intense, that the House of Repre-

sentatives brought articles of impeachment against him. The trial—the first of its kind known in our history—was conducted by the United States Senate, presided over by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. The impeachment failed, however, yet only lacked one vote of the two-thirds majority requisite to the President's conviction.

In 1866, Mr. Johnson made a tour to Chicago, in the course of which he made many petty speeches, which brought upon him both censure and ridicule, but he was regarded as politically harmless, and to the close of his term, March 4th, 1869, he was allowed to pursue his own policy with but little opposition. Retiring to his home at Greenville, he began anew to take an active part in the politics of his State. It required several years, however, for him to regain anything like his earlier popularity; but finally, in January, 1875, he succeeded in securing his election once more to the Senate of the United States, but he died on the 30th of the following July.

ULYSSES S. GRANT.

HISTORY has recorded few instances of the rapid and unexpected rise of individuals in humble circumstances to the highest positions, more remarkable than that afforded by the life of Ulysses S. Grant, the eighteenth

HOME OF GRANT'S CHILDHOOD AT POINT PLEASANT, OHIO.

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President of the United States. He was the son of Jesse R. and Hannah Simpson Grant, both natives of Pennsylvania. He was born April 27th, 1822, at Point Pleasant, Clermont County, Ohio. His early education was merely that of the common schools of his day. By a conjunction of favoring circumstances, he passed, in 1839, from the bark-mill of his father's tannery to the Military Academy at West Point. He was a diligent but not distinguished student. Having graduated in 1843, the twenty-first in a class of thirty-nine, he signalized himself by his bravery in the Mexican War, being rewarded therefor by a captain's commission. He then married Miss Julia J. Dent, of Saint Louis, and, after spending several years with his regiment in California and Oregon, left the service in July, 1854, tried farming and the real estate business with moderate success, and finally was taken by his father as a partner in his leather store at Galena.

He was yet thus humbly employed when President Lincoln issued his call for 75,000 three months' men. Marching to Springfield at the head of a company of volunteers, his military knowledge made him exceedingly useful to Governor Yates, who retained him as mustering officer, until he was commissioned colonel of the Twenty-first Regiment of Illinois Volunteers, on the 17th of June, 1861. The following August, having been made a brigadier-general, he took command at Cai-

ro, where he displayed much activity and attracted some attention. On the 7th of November he fought the Battle of Belmont, where he had a horse shot under him. His capture of Fort Donelson, with all its defenders, on the 15th of February, 1862, after a severe battle resulting in the first real and substantial triumph of the war, at once gave Grant a national reputation. For this brilliant victory he was immediately rewarded by a commission as major-general of volunteers.

Soon after the capture of Donelson, General Grant was placed in command of an important expedition up the Tennessee River. At Pittsburg Landing, while preparing for an attack on Corinth, a part of his army was surprised, at daybreak of the 6th of April, by an overwhelming force of Confederates, and driven from their camp with severe loss. Rallying his men that evening under the protection of the gun-boats, Grant, having been reinforced during the night, renewed the battle the following morning, and, after an obstinate contest, compelled the enemy to fall back upon Corinth.

In July, General Grant was placed in command of the Department of West Tennessee, with his headquarters at Corinth, which the Confederates had evacuated in the previous May. On the 19th of September he gained a complete victory over the Confederates at Iuka, and then removed his headquarters to Jackson, Tennessee. Vicksburg,

on the Mississippi, having been strongly fortified and garrisoned by the enemy, the duty of taking that place devolved upon Grant. After several attempts against it from the north, all of which resulted more or less disastrously, he finally moved his army down the west bank of the river, and, crossing to the east side, at a point below the city, began, on the 18th of May, 1863, a formal siege, which lasted until the 4th of the ensuing July, when the place was surrendered, with nearly thirty thousand prisoners and an immense amount of military stores.

Grant's capture of Vicksburg, the result of that tenacity of purpose which is a marked trait in his character, was hailed with unbounded delight by the whole country. He was immediately commissioned a major-general in the regular army, and placed in command of the entire military Division of the Mississippi. Congress also, meeting in December, ordered a gold medal to be struck for him, and passed resolutions of thanks to him and his army. Still further, a bill reviving the grade of lieutenant-general was passed, and, on the 1st of March, 1864, Grant was appointed by President Lincoln to the position thus created.

Having now been placed at the head of an army of seven hundred thousand men, Grant, announcing that his headquarters would be in the field, "at once planned two movements, to be directed simultaneously against vital points of the

eagre remnant of his army. He retreated estward toward Danville, followed closely by rant. At the same time Sherman, who had met ith almost unparalleled success in his part of the oncerted movement, was marching triumphantly rough Alabama and Georgia to the sea-coast, ong which he swept northward, and was threatning Lee from another quarter, so that, placed etween two large armies, both flushed with vicory, no other resource was left him than to surender the thin remnant of his force. This he id, to Grant, at Appomattox Court-House, on the h of April, 1865, and the "Great Rebellion" was us virtually brought to a close.

On the conclusion of the war, Grant made Vashington his headquarters, and was, in July, 866, commissioned General of the United States rmy—a rank which had been specially created do him honor. In August, 1867, he for awhile cted as Secretary of War *ad interim* under resident Johnson; but, notwithstanding the latr's earnest request to the contrary, he, when the enate refused to sanction Stanton's removal, estored the position to that gentleman, from hom it had been taken.

In the Republican National Convention, held at hicago, on the 21st of May, 1868, General Grant as on the first ballot unanimously nominated as e candidate of that party for the Presidency. is Democratic competitor was Horatio Sey-

mour, of New York. The election resulted in Grant receiving two hundred and fourteen out of two hundred and ninety-four electoral votes. He was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1869. Though brought into conflict with some of the prominent men of his party by his determined effort to bring about the annexation of San Domingo to the United States, President Grant's first official term gave satisfaction to the mass of his Republican adherents. During the first six months of his term the public debt was reduced some fifty millions of dollars, order and prosperity were rapidly restored throughout the Southern States, and the hatred and animosities of the war were greatly softened, though Grant's firmness in many instances had begotten severe opposition.

In their National Convention at Philadelphia, on the 5th of June, 1872, he was nominated by acclamation for a second term. His opponent in this contest was Horace Greeley, who was supported by both the Democrats and the so-called Liberal Republicans. The election resulted in the success of General Grant, who received two hundred and sixty-eight out of the three hundred and forty-eight electoral votes cast. He was inaugurated a second time on the 4th of March, 1873.

Grant's second term was one of improving prospects, though the transitions from the excessive inflations attendant on the war to the solid

business basis of peace made financial affairs unsteady and led to the famous panic of '73. But prosperity returned gradually and on a more solid basis, and the great Centennial Exposition of 1876, at Philadelphia, was a fitting crown upon the final year of Grant's eight years of Presidential work and honor. In his last message to Congress he urged compulsory common-school education where other means of education are not provided; the exclusion of all sectarianism from public schools; the prohibition of voting, after 1890, to all persons unable to read and write; the permanent separation of Church and State; entire religious freedom for all sects, and legislation to speedily secure a return to sound currency.

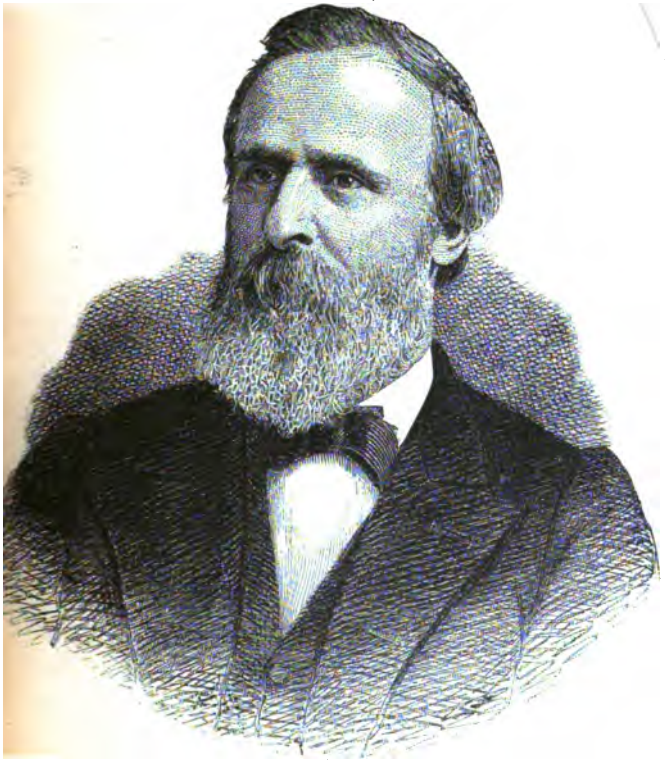
General Grant was strongly urged to accept the nomination for a third term, but declined the honor and retired to private life, March 4th, 1877. After his long-continued public service, an extended trip abroad was deemed desirable by the General. Arrangements were matured accordingly, and on May 17th, 1877, he sailed from Philadelphia in the steamer Indiana. His journey was prosperous in every respect. He made the tour of the world and reached San Francisco September 20th, 1879. Everywhere he was the recipient of the highest honors. The most distinguished crowned heads and military leaders of all nations were proud to do him honor, and he in return did many personal friendly offices which were most

gratefully recognized. He finally settled in New York city, where he is justly honored and highly appreciated by all.

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

RUTHERFORD BIRCHARD HAYES, the nineteenth incumbent of the Presidential chair, was born at Delaware, Ohio, October 4th, 1822. He enjoyed the most favorable surroundings of refinement and culture in his youth, and graduated at Kenyon College in 1842. In 1845, he graduated from the Harvard Law School and began practice in Fremont, Ohio, from which place he removed to Cincinnati in 1849. He served as City Solicitor for several years, until the breaking out of the war, when he took the field as major of the Twenty-third Ohio Volunteers. He had a splendid record, rising to the command of a division, being breveted major-general, and continuing until June 1st, 1865, when he resigned his rank and returned to Cincinnati.

In December, 1865, he entered Congress, to which he had been elected before he left the army. He was re-elected to this position, but resigned to become Governor of Ohio, to which office he was three times chosen, an honor never before conferred in that State. The prominent issues in his last campaign for the Governorship were the



Sincerely
R. B. Hayes

currency and the school questions. So satisfactory were his views on these measures, that he received much favorable mention for nomination in the Presidential campaign then approaching.

On June 16th, 1876, the Republican Convention met at Cincinnati, and on the seventh ballot Hayes received the nomination over James G. Blaine and Benjamin H. Bristow. Hayes received three hundred and eighty-four votes, Blaine three hundred and fifty-one, and Bristow twenty-one. The contest was bitter in the Convention and in the succeeding canvass, and its close was a disputed election, the electoral votes of Florida, South Carolina, and Louisiana being claimed by both parties, as was one electoral vote of Oregon also. The contest was finally referred to an Electoral Commission, which decided by a vote of eight to seven that Hayes was elected, and he, accordingly, succeeded General Grant in the office on March 4th, 1877, the inauguration occurring on the next day, Monday, March 5th. The great feature of this Administration was the full resumption of specie payments, a success achieved without jar or confusion of any kind in the business of the country.

At the close of his term, March 4th, 1881, Mr. Hayes turned over the Administration to his successor amid peace and prosperity such as the nation seldom enjoyed, and returned to his home in Ohio, where he still lives (June, 1884), respected and beloved by all his fellow-citizens.

JAMES A. GARFIELD.

THE nation's choice for the twenty-fourth Presidential term, James Abram Garfield, was born November 19th, 1831, at Orange, Cuyahoga County, Ohio. His ancestors were early immigrants of New England, and they bore noble part in all the hardships and sufferings of the Revolutionary and earlier periods. His parents were Abram and Eliza Garfield, his father dying when James was but a child, and his mother surviving to see his exaltation to the Presidency and his untimely end.

James Garfield's early life was one filled with the struggles incident to poverty on the frontier settlements. On the farm, on the canal, and at the carpenter's bench, he toiled energetically, reading and studying all the while, that he might fit himself for college. He finally betook himself to teaching as a means of subsistence, and while so engaged pressed his own education diligently. He decided to enter Williams College, Mass., which he did, in June, 1854, in a class nearly two years advanced. He had saved some money, but he worked during his vacations and at spare moments, and so was enabled to complete his course, though somewhat in debt, graduating August, 1856. While yet a student, he became much interested in politics and made some speeches on his favorite views.

J. A. Garfield.

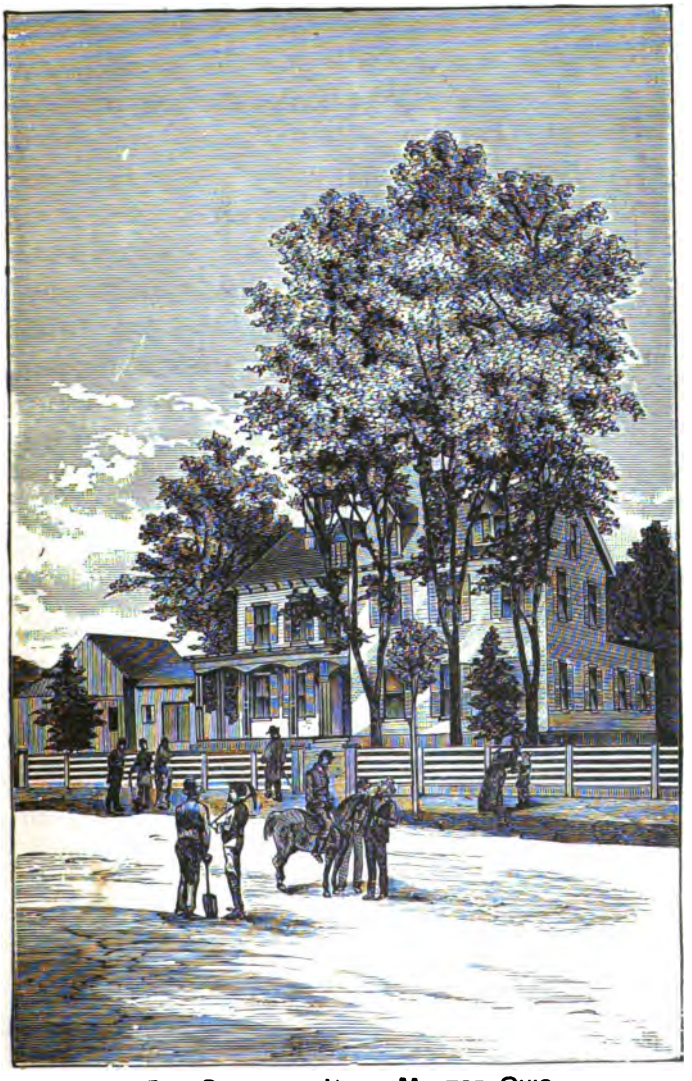
After his graduation, he entered Hiram College, Ohio, as a teacher of ancient languages and literature, and soon after became its President. Meanwhile, he was active in a wide variety of good works, preaching, addressing temperance meetings, making political speeches, and at the same time pursuing the study of the law. In 1858, he married Lucretia Rudolph, who had been a fellow-student with him in his academic schooldays.

As a logical and effective political speaker, Garfield soon became prominent, and in 1859 was elected to the Senate of his native State, where he immediately took high rank, although he still continued to be much engaged in literary and religious work. In August, 1861, he solemnly considered the question of entering the army, and wrote his conclusion thus: "I regard my life as given to my country. I am only anxious to make as much of it as possible before the mortgage on it is foreclosed."

As a soldier, Garfield was thorough, brave, and efficient. He had a large share of hard fighting in the West and the Southwest, but he won high praise in it all, rising from the rank of lieutenant-colonel to that of brigadier-general and chief of staff to General Rosecrans, in which capacity he served until the battle of Chickamauga had been fought, when he was promoted to a major-generalship for "gallant and meritorious conduct" on that bloody field.

Just before this battle, Garfield had been chosen by his fellow-citizens in Ohio as their representative in Congress. To accept this post was deemed his duty by all his friends and advisers, so he resigned his commission on the 5th of December, 1863, and took his place in Congress at less than half the salary drawn by one of his military rank. In this new position he exercised the same earnest conscientiousness he had ever shown. He was a master workman in every line of duty there for seventeen years, during which period he left the imprint of his ability and patriotism as thoroughly upon the legislation of the country as any one man in public service. He certainly realized the meaning of the title, "a public benefactor," as defined in his own speech made on December 10th, 1878, in which he said: "The man who wants to serve his country must put himself in the line of its leading thought, and that is the restoration of business, trade, commerce, industry, sound political economy, hard money, and the payment of all obligations, and the man who can add anything in the direction of accomplishing any of these purposes is a public benefactor."

No man with such an ideal could fail to at once take high rank. Nor did Garfield fail to do so. At the outset he was recognized as a leader, and his influence grew with his service. He was at once appointed on the Military Committee, under the chairmanship of General Schenck and the col-



GEN. GARFIELD'S HOME, MENTOR, OHIO.

leagueship of Farnsworth, both fresh from the field. In this work he was of great service—just as Rosecrans anticipated he would be. His thorough knowledge of the wants of the army was of the first value in all legislation pertaining to military matters. He was appointed chairman of a select committee of seven appointed to investigate the alleged frauds in the money-printing bureau of the Treasury, and on other very important and complicated matters he rendered service of the greatest value.

He did most excellent work, as an orator, on many momentous questions, as the following partial list of his published Congressional speeches will show: "Free Commerce between the States;" "National Bureau of Education;" "The Public Debt and Specie Payments;" "Taxation of United States Bonds;" "Ninth Census;" "Public Expenditures and Civil Service;" "The Tariff;" "Currency and the Banks;" "Debate on the Currency Bill;" "On the McGarrahan Claim;" "The Right to Originate Revenue Bills;" "Public Expenditures;" "National Aid to Education;" "The Currency;" "Revenues and Expenditures;" "Currency and the Public Faith;" "Appropriations;" "Counting the Electoral Vote;" "Repeal of the Resumption Law;" "The New Scheme of American Finance;" "The Tariff;" "Suspension and Resumption of Specie Payments;" "Relation of the National Government to Science;" "Sugar Tariff."

It was a surprise to nobody, but a real pleasure to multitudes, when at Chicago, on June 8th, 1880, James A. Garfield received the nomination for the Presidency by three hundred and ninety-nine votes in a total of seven hundred and fifty-five. This was upon the thirty-sixth ballot of the nominating Convention, but not until then had Garfield been prominently brought forward. His nomination was at once made unanimous in the Convention, and hailed with joy throughout the land. His chief opponent was the superb soldier, Major-General Winfield S. Hancock, but Garfield and Arthur received two hundred and fourteen of three hundred and sixty-nine electoral votes and secured the highest offices in the gift of the nation.

Garfield was inaugurated amid general satisfaction throughout the nation. His venerable mother saw her son's exaltation on that memorable Inauguration Day, and received from him, as the newly made President, his kiss of filial love. Every department of the public service felt the force of the new regime, and prosperity beamed on every side until the fatal Saturday, July 2d, 1881, when the assassin's bullet cut short the era of joy and hopefulness which had just fairly dawned. Of the subsequent weeks of suffering and anxiety, through which that valuable life trembled in the balance, while the nation's hopes and fears rose and fell alternately, and of the sad,

sad end at Elberon, New Jersey, on September 29th, the world is well informed. The wound then made in the nation's heart is open still, and further mention need not here be made of those agonizing and still fresh experiences. But the fittest tribute that can here be paid to Garfield's memory is from the lips of his intimate associate and fellow-worker, Hon. James G. Blaine. By request of the national authorities, he delivered, February 27th, 1882, the official eulogy upon the deceased President. All the magnates of the capital were present in the Hall of Representatives to hear that oration, from which masterly effort the following somewhat disconnected, but none the less effective, paragraphs are taken:

No manly man feels anything of shame in looking back to early struggles with adverse circumstances, and no man feels a worthier pride than when he has conquered the obstacles in his progress. But no one of noble mold desires to be looked upon as having occupied a menial position, as having been repressed by a feeling of inferiority, or as having suffered the evils of poverty until relief was found at the hand of charity. General Garfield's youth presented no hardships which family love and family energy did not overcome, subjected him to no privations which he did not cheerfully accept, and left no memories save those which were recalled with delight and transmitted with profit and with pride.

Garfield's early opportunities for securing an education were extremely limited, and yet were sufficient to develop in him an intense desire to learn. He could read at three years of age, and each winter he had the advantage of the district school. He read all the books to be found within the circle of his acquaintance; some of them he got by heart. While yet in childhood he was a constant student of the Bible, and became familiar with its literature. The dignity and earnestness of his speech in his maturer life gave evidence of this early training. At eighteen years of age he was able to teach school, and thenceforward his ambition was to obtain a college education. To this end he bent all his efforts, working in the harvest field, at the carpenter's bench, and, in the winter season, teaching the common schools of the neighborhood. While thus laboriously occupied he found time to prosecute his studies, and was so successful that at twenty-two years of age he was able to enter the junior class at Williams College, then under the presidency of the venerable and honored Mark Hopkins, who, in the fullness of his powers, survives the eminent pupil to whom he was of inestimable service.

The history of Garfield's life to this period presents no novel features. He had undoubtedly shown perseverance, self-reliance, self-sacrifice, and ambition—qualities which, be it said for the honor of our country, are everywhere to be found

among the young men of America. But from his graduation at Williams onward, to the hour of his tragical death, Garfield's career was eminent and exceptional. Slowly working through his educational period, receiving his diploma when twenty-four years of age, he seemed at one bound to spring into conspicuous and brilliant success. Within six years he was successively president of a college, State Senator of Ohio, Major-General of the Army of the United States, and Representative-elect to the National Congress. A combination of honors so varied, so elevated, within a period so brief, and to a man so young, is without precedent or parallel in the history of the country.

Garfield's army life was begun with no other military knowledge than such as he had hastily gained from books in the few months preceding his march to the field. Stepping from civil life to the head of a regiment, the first order he received when ready to cross the Ohio, was to assume command of a brigade, and to operate as an independent force in Eastern Kentucky. His immediate duty was to check the advance of Humphrey Marshall, who was marching down the Big Sandy with the intention of occupying, in connection with other Confederate forces, the entire territory of Kentucky, and of precipitating the State into secession. This was at the close of the year 186.. Seldom, if ever, has a young college professor been thrown into a more embarrassing and dis-

couraging position. He knew just enough of military science, as he expressed it himself, to measure the extent of his ignorance, and with a handful of men he was marching, in rough winter weather, into a strange country, among a hostile population, to confront a largely superior force under the command of a distinguished graduate of West Point, who had seen active and important service in two preceding wars.

The result of the campaign is matter of history. The skill, the endurance, the extraordinary energy shown by Garfield, the courage he imparted to his men, raw and untried as himself, the measures he adopted to increase his force and to create in the enemy's mind exaggerated estimates of his numbers, bore perfect fruit in the routing of Marshall, the capture of his camp, the dispersion of his force, and the emancipation of an important territory from the control of the Rebellion. Coming at the close of a long series of disasters to the Union arms, Garfield's victory had an unusual and extraneous importance, and in the popular judgment elevated the young commander to the rank of a military hero. With less than two thousand men in his entire command, with a mobilized force of only eleven hundred, without cannon, he had met an army of five thousand and defeated them, driving Marshall's forces successively from two strongholds of their own selection, fortified with abundant artillery. Major-

General Buell, commanding the Department of the Ohio, an experienced and able soldier of the Regular Army, published an order of thanks and congratulation on the brilliant result of the Big Sandy campaign, which would have turned the head of a less cool and sensible man than Garfield. Buell declared that his services had called into action the highest qualities of a soldier, and President Lincoln supplemented these words of praise by the more substantial reward of a brigadier-general's commission, to bear date from the day of his decisive victory over Marshall.

Early in 1863, Garfield was assigned to the highly important and responsible post of chief of staff to General Rosecrans, then at the head of the Army of the Cumberland. Perhaps in a great military campaign, no subordinate officer requires sounder judgment and quicker knowledge of men than the chief of staff to the commanding general. An indiscreet man in such a position can sow more discord, breed more jealousy, and disseminate more strife than any other officer in the entire organization. When General Garfield assumed his new duties he found various troubles already well developed, and seriously affecting the value and efficiency of the Army of the Cumberland. The energy, the impartiality, and the tact with which he sought to allay these dissensions, and to discharge the duties of his new and trying position, will always remain one of the most striking proofs of

his great versatility. His military duties closed on the memorable field of Chickamauga, a field which, however disastrous to the Union arms, gave to him the occasion of winning imperishable laurels. The very rare distinction was accorded him of a great promotion for his bravery on a field that was lost. President Lincoln appointed him a major-general in the army of the United States for gallant and meritorious conduct in the battle of Chickamauga.

The Army of the Cumberland was reorganized under the command of General Thomas, who promptly offered Garfield one of its divisions. He was extremely desirous to accept the position, but was embarrassed by the fact that he had, a year before, been elected to Congress, and the time when he must take his seat was drawing near. He preferred to remain in the military service, and had within his own breast the largest confidence of success in the wider field which his new rank opened to him. Balancing the arguments on the one side and the other, anxious to determine what was for the best, desirous above all things to do his patriotic duty, he was decisively influenced by the advice of President Lincoln and Secretary Stanton, both of whom assured him that he could, at that time, be of especial value in the House of Representatives. He resigned his commission of Major-General on the fifth day of December, 1863, and took his seat in the house of Representatives

on the seventh. He had served two years and four months in the army, and had just completed his thirty-second year.

The Thirty-Eighth Congress is pre-eminently entitled in history to the designation of the War Congress. It was elected while the war was flagrant, and every member was chosen upon the issues involved in the continuance of the struggle. The Thirty-Seventh Congress had, indeed, legislated to a large extent on war measures, but it was chosen before any one believed that secession of the States would be actually attempted. The magnitude of the work which fell upon its successor was unprecedented, both in respect to the vast sums of money raised for the support of the army and navy, and of the new and extraordinary powers of legislation which it was forced to exercise. Only twenty-four States were represented, and one hundred and eighty-two members were upon its roll. Among these were many distinguished party leaders on both sides, veterans in the public service, with established reputations for ability, and with that skill which comes only from parliamentary experience. Into this assemblage of men Garfield entered without special preparation, and it might almost be said unexpectedly. The question of taking command of a division of troops under General Thomas, or taking his seat in Congress, was kept open till the last moment—so late, indeed, that the resignation

of his military commission and his appearance in the House were almost contemporaneous. He wore the uniform of a Major-General of the United States Army on Saturday, and on Monday, in civilian's dress, he answered to the roll-call as a Representative in Congress from the State of Ohio.

With possibly a single exception, Garfield was the youngest member in the House when he entered, and was but seven years from his college graduation. But he had not been in his seat sixty days before his ability was recognized and his place conceded. He stepped to the front with the confidence of one who belonged there. The House was crowded with strong men of both parties; nineteen of them have since been transferred to the Senate, and many of them have served with distinction in the gubernatorial chairs of their respective States, and on foreign missions of great consequence; but among them all none grew so rapidly, none so firmly as Garfield. As is said by Trevelyan of his parliamentary hero, Garfield succeeded "because all the world in concert could not have kept him in the background, and because when once in the front he played his part with a prompt intrepidity and a commanding ease that were but the outward symptoms of the immense reserves of energy on which it was in his power to draw." Indeed, the apparently reserved force which Garfield possessed was one of his great

characteristics. He never did so well but that it seemed he could easily have done better. He never expended so much strength but that he seemed to be holding additional power at call. This is one of the happiest and rarest distinctions of an effective debater, and often counts for as much in persuading an assembly as the eloquent and elaborate argument.

The great measure of Garfield's fame was filled by his service in the House of Representatives. His military life, illustrated by honorable performance, and rich in promise, was, as he himself felt, prematurely terminated, and necessarily incomplete. Speculation as to what he might have done in a field where the great prizes are so few, cannot be profitable. It is sufficient to say that, as a soldier, he did his duty bravely; he did it intelligently; he won an enviable fame, and he retired from the service without blot or breath against him. As a lawyer, though admirably equipped for the profession, he can scarcely be said to have entered on its practice. The few efforts he made at the bar were distinguished by the same high order of talent which he exhibited on every field where he was put to the test, and if a man may be accepted as a competent judge of his own capacities and adaptations, the law was the profession to which Garfield should have devoted himself. But fate ordained otherwise, and his reputation in history will rest largely upon his service in the House of Repre-

sentatives, to a place in which he was chosen for nine consecutive terms.

Garfield's nomination to the Presidency, while not predicted or anticipated, was not a surprise to the country. His prominence in Congress, his solid qualities, his wide reputation, strengthened by his then recent election as Senator from Ohio, kept him in the public eye as a man occupying the very highest rank among those entitled to be called statesmen. It was not mere chance that brought him this high honor. "We must," says Mr. Emerson, "reckon success a constitutional trait. If Eric is in robust health, and has slept well, and is at the top of his condition, and thirty years old at his departure from Greenland, he will steer west, and his ships will reach Newfoundland. But take Eric out, and put in a stronger and bolder man, and the ships will sail six hundred, one thousand, fifteen hundred miles farther, and reach Labrador and New England. There is no chance in results."

As a candidate, Garfield steadily grew in popular favor. He was met with a storm of detraction at the very hour of his nomination, and it continued with increasing volume and momentum until the close of his victorious campaign:—

> "No might nor greatness in mortality
> Can censure 'scape; back-wounding calumny
> The whitest virtue strikes. What king so strong
> Can tie the gall up in the slanderous tongue?"

Under it all he was calm, and strong, and confident; never lost his self-possession, did no unwise act, spoke no hasty or ill-considered word. Indeed, nothing in his whole life is more remarkable or more creditable than his bearing through those five full months of vituperation—a prolonged agony of trial to a sensitive man, a constant and cruel draft upon the powers of moral endurance. The great mass of these unjust imputations passed unnoticed, and with the general debris of the campaign fell into oblivion. But in a few instances the iron entered his soul, and he died with the injury unforgotten, if not unforgiven.

One aspect of Garfield's candidacy was unprecedented. Never before, in the history of partisan contests in this country, had a successful Presidential candidate spoken freely on passing events and current issues. To attempt anything of the kind seemed novel, rash, and even desperate. The older class of voters recalled the unfortunate Alabama letter, in which Mr. Clay was supposed to have signed his political death warrant. They remembered also the hot-tempered effusion by which General Scott lost a large share of his popularity before his nomination, and the unfortunate speeches which rapidly consumed the remainder. The younger voters had seen Mr. Greeley in a series of vigorous and original addresses, preparing the pathway for his own defeat. Unmindful of these warnings, unheeding the ad-

vice of friends, Garfield spoke to large crowds as he journeyed to and from New York in August, to a great multitude in that city, to delegations and deputations of every kind that called at Mentor during the summer and autumn. With innumerable critics, watchful and eager to catch a phrase that might be turned into odium or ridicule, or a sentence that might be distorted to his own or his party's injury, Garfield did not trip or halt in any one of his seventy speeches. This seems all the more remarkable when it is remembered that he did not write what he said, and yet spoke with such logical consecutiveness of thought, and such admirable precision of phrase as to defy the accident of misreport, and the malignity of misrepresentation.

In the beginning of his Presidential life, Garfield's experience did not yield him pleasure or satisfaction. The duties that engross so large a portion of the President's time were distasteful to him, and were unfavorably contrasted with his legislative work. "I have been dealing all these years with ideas," he impatiently exclaimed one day, "and here I am dealing only with persons. I have been heretofore treating of the fundamental principles of government, and here I am considering all day whether A or B shall be appointed to this or that office." He was earnestly seeking some practical way of correcting the evils arising from the distribution of overgrown and unwieldy pat-

ronage—evils always appreciated and often discussed by him, but whose magnitude had been more deeply impressed upon his mind since his accession to the Presidency. Had he lived, a comprehensive improvement in the mode of appointments would have been proposed by him.

Garfield's ambition for the success of his administration was high. With strong caution and conservatism in his nature, he was in no danger of attempting rash experiments or of resorting to the empiricism of statesmanship. But he believed that renewed and closer attention should be given to questions affecting the material interests and commercial prospects of fifty millions of people. He believed that our continental relations, extensive and undeveloped as they are, involved responsibility, and could be cultivated into profitable friendship or be abandoned to harmless indifference or lasting enmity. He believed with equal confidence that an essential forerunner to a new era of national progress must be a feeling of contentment in every section of the Union, and a generous belief that the benefits and burdens of government would be common to all. Himself a conspicuous illustration of what ability and ambition may do under republican institutions, he loved his country with a passion of patriotic devotion, and every waking thought was given to her advancement. He was an American in all his aspirations, and he looked to the destiny and

influence of the United States with the philosophic composure of Jefferson and the demonstrative confidence of John Adams.

The religious element in Garfield's character was deep and earnest. In his early youth, he espoused the faith of the Disciples, a sect of that great Baptist Communion, which, in different ecclesiastical establishments, is so numerous and so influential throughout all parts of the United States. But the broadening tendency of his mind and his active spirit of inquiry were early apparent and carried him beyond the dogmas of sect and the restraints of association. In selecting a college in which to continue his education he rejected Bethany, though presided over by Alexander Campbell, the greatest preacher of his Church. His reasons were characteristic: first, that Bethany leaned too heavily towards slavery; and, second, that being himself a Disciple and the son of Disciple parents, he had little acquaintance with people of other beliefs, and he thought it would make him more liberal, quoting his own words, both in his religious and general views, to go into a new circle and be under new influences.

The liberal tendency which he anticipated as the result of wider culture was fully realized. He was emancipated from mere sectarian belief, and with eager interest pushed his investigations in the direction of modern progressive thought. He followed with quickening step into the paths of

exploration and speculation so fearlessly trodden by Darwin, by Huxley, by Tyndall, and by other living scientists of the radical and advanced type. His own Church, binding its disciples by no formulated creed, but accepting the Old and New Testaments as the word of God, with unbiased liberty of private interpretation, favored, if it did not stimulate, the spirit of investigation. Its members profess with sincerity, and profess only, to be of one mind and of one faith with those who immediately followed the Master, and who were first called Christians at Antioch.

But however high Garfield reasoned of "fixed fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute," he was never separated from the Church of the Disciples in his affections and in his associations. For him it held the ark of the covenant. To him it was the gate of Heaven. The world of religious belief is full of solecisms and contradictions. A philosophic observer declares that men by the thousand will die in defense of a creed whose doctrines they do not comprehend and whose tenets they habitually violate. It is equally true that men by the thousand will cling to Church organizations with instinctive and undying fidelity when their belief in maturer years is radically different from that which inspired them as neophytes.

But after this range of speculation, and this latitude of doubt, Garfield came back always with freshness and delight to the simpler instincts of

religious faith, which, earliest implanted, longest survive. Not many weeks before his assassination, walking on the banks of the Potomac with a friend, and conversing on those topics of personal religion concerning which noble natures have an unconquerable reserve, he said that he found the Lord's Prayer and the simple petitions learned in infancy infinitely restful to him, not merely in their stated repetition, but in their casual and frequent recall as he went about the daily duties of life. Certain texts of Scripture had a very strong hold on his memory and his heart. He heard, while in Edinburgh some years ago, an eminent Scotch preacher who prefaced his sermon with reading the eighth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, which book had been the subject of careful study with Garfield during all his religious life. He was greatly impressed by the elocution of the preacher and declared that it had imparted a new and deeper meaning to the majestic utterances of St. Paul. He referred often in after years to that memorable service, and dwelt with exaltation of feeling upon the radiant promise and the assured hope with which the great Apostle of the Gentiles was "persuaded that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord."

The crowning characteristic of General Garfield's religious opinions, as, indeed, of all his opinions, was his liberality. In all things he had charity. Tolerance was of his nature. He respected in others the qualities which he possessed himself, sincerity of conviction and frankness of expression. With him the inquiry was not so much what a man believes, but does he believe it? The lines of his friendship and his confidence encircled men of every creed, and men of no creed, and to the end of his life, on his ever-lengthening list of friends, were to be found the names of a pious Catholic priest and of an honest-minded and generous-hearted free-thinker.

On the morning of Saturday, July 2d, the President was a contented and happy man—not in an ordinary degree, but joyfully, almost boyishly happy. On his way to the railroad station, to which he drove slowly, in conscious enjoyment of the beautiful morning, with an unwonted sense of leisure and a keen anticipation of pleasure, his talk was all in the grateful and gratulatory vein. He felt that after four months of trial his administration was strong in its grasp of affairs, strong in popular favor, and destined to grow stronger; that grave difficulties confronting him at his inauguration had been safely passed; that trouble lay behind him and not before him; that he was soon to meet the wife whom he loved, now recovering from an illness which had but lately disqui-

eted and at times almost unnerved him: that he was going to his *Alma Mater* to renew the most cherished associations of his young manhood, and to exchange greetings with those whose deepening interest had followed every step of his upward progress from the day he entered upon his college course until he had attained the loftiest elevation in the gift of his countrymen.

Surely, if happiness can ever come from the honors or triumphs of this world, on that quiet July morning James A. Garfield may well have been a happy man. No foreboding of evil haunted him; no slightest premonition of danger clouded his sky. His terrible fate was upon him in an instant. One moment he stood erect, strong, confident in the years stretching peacefully out before him; the next he lay wounded, bleeding, helpless, doomed to weary weeks of torture, to silence, and the grave.

Great in life, he was surpassingly great in death. For no cause, in the very frenzy of wantonness and wickedness, by the red hand of murder, he was thrust from the full tide of this world's interest, from its hopes, its aspirations, its victories, into the visible presence of death—and he did not quail. Not alone for the one short moment in which, stunned and dazed, he could give up life, hardly aware of its relinquishment, but through days of deadly languor, through weeks of agony, that was not less agony because silently borne, with clear

sight and calm courage, he looked into his open grave. What blight and ruin met his anguished eyes, whose lips may tell?—what brilliant, broken plans; what baffled, high ambitions; what sundering of strong, warm, manhood's friendships; what bitter rending of sweet household ties! Behind him a proud, expectant nation, a great host of sustaining friends, a cherished and happy mother, wearing the full, rich honors of her early toil and tears; the wife of his youth, whose whole life lay in his; the little boys not yet emerged from childhood's days of frolic; the fair young daughter; the sturdy sons just springing into closest companionship, claiming every day and every day rewarding a father's love and care; and in his heart the eager, rejoicing power to meet all demands. Before him, desolation and great darkness! And his soul was not shaken. His countrymen were thrilled with instant, profound, and universal sympathy. Masterful in his mortal weakness, he became the centre of a nation's love, enshrined in the prayers of a world. But all the love and all the sympathy could not share with him his suffering. He trod the wine-press alone. With unfaltering front he faced death. With unfailing tenderness he took leave of life. Above the demoniac hiss of the assassin's bullet he heard the voice of God. With simple resignation he bowed to the Divine decree.

As the end drew near, his early craving for the

sea returned. The stately mansion of power had been to him the wearisome hospital of pain, and he begged to be taken from its prison walls, from its oppressive, stifling air, from its homelessness and its hopelessness. Gently, silently, the love of a great people bore the pale sufferer to the longed-for healing of the sea, to live or to die, as God should will, within sight of its heaving billows, within sound of its manifold voices. With wan, fevered face tenderly lifted to the cooling breeze, he looked out wistfully upon the ocean's changing wonders; on its far sails, whitening in the morning light; on its restless waves, rolling shoreward to break and die beneath the noonday sun; on the red clouds of evening, arching low in the horizon; on the serene and shining pathway of the stars. Let us think that his dying eyes read a mystic meaning which only the rapt and parting soul may know. Let us believe that in the silence of the receding world he heard the great waves breaking on a farther shore, and felt already upon his wasted brow the breath of the eternal morning.

After extended and most impressive funeral obsequies, President Garfield's mortal remains were laid to rest in Lake View Cemetery in the fair City of Cleveland, Ohio, on Monday, September 26th, 1881, and thus a new shrine was reared to which the patriotic hearts of America will never cease to turn with profound interest.

CHESTER A. ARTHUR.

THE exodus from foreign lands to this country has at all times since the early years of the present century been remarkable for its steadiness—though varying during the decades. A home in freedom and a chance for a fortune in climes where centuries have not bound with iron every man's position is always an incentive to brave spirits.

Among those who took the tide in its flow, at the beginning of the twenties, was a young Protestant Irishman from Ballymena, County Antrim, who bore the name of William Arthur. He was eighteen years of age, a graduate of Belfast College, and thoroughly imbued with the intention of becoming a Baptist clergyman. In this he persevered, was admitted to the ministry, took a degree of D.D., and followed a career of great usefulness, which did not terminate until he died, at Newtonville, near Albany, October 27th, 1875. He was in many respects a remarkable man. He acquired a wide fame in his chosen career, and entered successfully the great competition of authors. He published a work on *Family Names* that is today regarded as one of the curiosities of English erudite literature.

He married, not long after entering the ministry, an American, Malvina Stone, who bore him

a family of two sons and five daughters. Of these, Chester Allan, the subject of this sketch, was born at Fairfield, Franklin County, Vermont, October 5th, 1830. From his home studies he went to a wider field of instruction in the institutions of Schenectady, in the grammar school of which place he was prepared for entering Union College. This he did at the age of fifteen (1845), and took successfully the regular course, excelling in all his studies and graduating very high in the class of 1848.

On graduating he entered the law school at Ballston Springs. By rigid economy and hard work, he had managed to save five hundred dollars, and with this in his pocket he went to New York, and entered the law office of Erastus D. Culver, afterward minister to one of the South American States and a judge of the Civil Court of Brooklyn. Soon after entering Judge Culver's office, he was—in 1852—admitted to the bar, and formed the firm of Culver, Partsen & Arthur, which was dissolved in 1837. No sooner had he won his title to appear in the courts, than he formed a partnership with an old friend, Henry D. Gardner, with an intention of practicing in the West, and for three months these young gentlemen roamed through the Western States in search of a place to locate. In the end, not satisfied, they returned to New York and began practice.

The law career of Mr. Arthur includes some notable cases. One of his first cases was the cele-

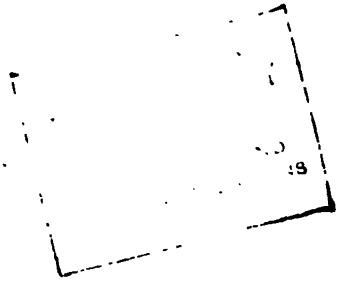
brated Lemmon suit. In 1852, Jonathan and Juliet Lemmon, Virginia slaveholders, intending to emigrate to Texas, went to New York to await the sailing of a steamer, bringing eight slaves with them. A writ of habeas corpus was obtained from Judge Paine to test the question whether the provisions of the Fugitive Slave Law were in force in that State. Judge Paine rendered a decision holding that they were not, and ordering the Lemmon slaves to be liberated. Henry L. Clinton was one of the counsel for the slaveholders. A howl of rage went up from the South, and the Virginia Legislature authorized the Attorney-General of that State to assist in taking an appeal. William M. Evarts and Chester A. Arthur were employed to represent the people, and they won their case, which then went to the Supreme Court of the United States. Charles O'Conor here espoused the cause of the slaveholders, but he, too, was beaten by Messrs. Evarts and Arthur, and a long step was thus taken toward the emancipation of the black race.

Mr. Arthur always took an interest in politics and the political surroundings of his day. His political life began at the age of fourteen, as a champion of the Whig party. He shared, too, in the turbulence of political life at that period, and it is related of him during the Polk-Clay canvass that, while he and some of his companions were raising an ash pole in honor of Henry Clay, some

Democratic boys attacked the party of Whigs, and young Arthur, who was the recognized leader of the party, ordered a charge, and, taking the front ranks himself, drove the young Democrats from the field with broken heads and subdued spirits. He was a delegate to the Saratoga Convention that founded the Republican party in New York State. He was active in local politics, and he gradually became one of the leaders. He nominated, and by his efforts elected, the Hon. Thomas Murphy a State Senator. When the latter resigned the Collectorship of the Port, in November, 1871, Arthur was appointed by President Grant to fill the vacancy.

He was nominated for the Vice-Presidency at Chicago on the evening of Tuesday, June 10th. He was heartily indorsed by the popular and electoral vote, and on the death of President Garfield, September 19th, 1881, he assumed the Presidential chair. His Administration has been an uneventful one, attended with general peace and prosperity.

PRESIDENT ARTHUR.



THE CITIZEN'S HANDBOOK

OF

VALUABLE FACTS FOR CAMPAIGN WORK.

"In order to have any success in life, or any worthy success, you must resolve to carry into your work a fullness of Knowledge—not merely a Sufficiency, but more than a Sufficiency."

James A. Garfield.

BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF THE PRESIDENTIAL CONTESTS.

Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, John Quincy Adams, and Jackson were chosen to the Presidency without the machinery of either State or National Conventions for their nomination.

WASHINGTON was chosen by common consent and demand, receiving the unanimous electoral vote, sixty-nine, ten States only voting, New York, North Carolina, and Rhode Island not having adopted the Constitution or framed election laws, and four qualified delegates being absent. At his second election he received all the votes but three, viz.: one hundred and thirty-two out of one hundred and thirty-five, fifteen States voting. In 1789, eleven other persons were voted for on the same ballots with Washington, he who received the next highest vote to be the Vice-President, as was the rule until 1804. John Adams was thus chosen by thirty-four votes over the following competitors: John Jay, R. H. Harrison, John Rutledge, John Hancock, George Clinton, Samuel Huntingdon, John Milton, James Armstrong, Benjamin Lincoln, and Edward Telfair. In 1792, John Adams was again chosen Vice-President, by seventy-seven out of one hundred and thirty-two votes, over George Clinton, Thomas Jefferson, and Aaron Burr. Adams represented the Federalist or Administration party of the day, the opposition being then known as the Republican party.

ADAMS, having twice held the Vice-Presidency, was thought to have a claim on the higher position, and in 1796, sixteen States voting, he received seventy-one electoral votes, Jefferson receiving sixty-eight, and becoming Vice-President over Thomas Pinckney, Aaron Burr, Samuel Adams, Oliver Ellsworth, George Clinton, John Jay, James Iredell, George Washington, John Henry, S. Johnson, and Charles C. Pinckney, for each of whom from one to fifty-nine electoral votes

were cast. The successful candidates represented the two parties of the day. In 1800, the parties in Congress each held a caucus and each nominated its own candidates.

JEFFERSON was chosen President in 1800, on the thirty-sixth ballot of the House of Representatives, he and Aaron Burr having a tie vote of seventy-three in the Electoral College, sixteen States voting. Burr then became Vice-President over John Adams, Charles C. Pinckney, and John Jay, who represented the Federalists. In 1803, the Constitution was amended prescribing the present method of choosing the nation's chief officers. After this for a long period the Republican party and its successor, the Democratic party, had things as they pleased. In 1804, Jefferson was re-elected over Charles C. Pinckney by one hundred and sixty-two votes to fourteen, George Clinton becoming Vice-President over Rufus King. This was a result of the Congressional caucus. Seventeen States voted.

MADISON, the nominee of the Republican caucus, received one hundred and twenty-two electoral votes in 1808, seventeen States voting, his opponent, Charles C. Pinckney, receiving but fourteen, and George Clinton, another candidate, receiving none. Clinton received one hundred and thirteen votes for the Vice-Presidency, however, and was chosen over Rufus King, John Langdon, James Madison, and James Monroe.

In 1812, Madison received one hundred and twenty-eight electoral votes out of two hundred and eighteen, eighteen States voting, De Witt Clinton receiving eighty-nine votes. Elbridge Gerry was chosen to the second place by one hundred and thirty-one votes, Jared Ingersoll receiving eighty-six.

MONROE was twice lifted into power by the caucus, receiving one hundred and eighty-three votes to thirty-four for Rufus King, in 1816, and two hundred and thirty-one to one only for John Quincy Adams, in 1820, nineteen States voting in the first election and twenty-four in the second. D. D. Tompkins received one hundred and eighty-three votes for

Vice-President in 1816, and two hundred and eighteen in 1820, his competitors in the first race being John E. Howard, James Ross, John Marshall, and Robert G. Harper, and in the second Richard Stockton, Daniel Rodney, Robert G. Harper, and Richard Rush. At the end of Monroe's term parties began to break up and new combinations to form under lead of the State Legislatures, several of which brought out their favorite sons.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS was the Coalition nominee of Massachusetts in 1824. Jackson was put forward by Tennessee, as were William H. Crawford and Henry Clay by their respective States; twenty-four States voted in this contest, having two hundred and sixty-one electoral votes, of which Jackson received ninety-nine, and Adams eighty-four, the remainder being divided among the other two candidates. No choice being made, the House of Representatives settled the contest, giving Adams thirteen States, Jackson seven States, and Crawford four States. Jackson's popular vote was one hundred and fifty-five thousand eight hundred and seventy-two; that of Adams, one hundred and five thousand three hundred and twenty-one, while Crawford and Clay together polled ninety thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine. A tempest of ill-feeling was begotten by this decision. John C. Calhoun was chosen Vice-President, however, receiving one hundred and eighty-two votes, his opponents being Nathan Sanford, Nathaniel Macon, Andrew Jackson, Martin Van Buren, and Henry Clay.

JACKSON was so enraged by his defeat that he left the Senate and threw all his tremendous energy into the campaign of 1828, he being the leader of the newly formed Democratic party. Twenty-four States voted, with two hundred and sixty-one electoral votes, of which Jackson secured one hundred and seventy-eight, to eighty-three for Adams, and a popular vote of six hundred and forty-seven thousand two hundred and thirty-one, to five hundred and nine thousand and ninety-seven for Adams. Calhoun again became Vice-President by one hundred and seventy-one votes, Richard

Rush and William Smith being his vanquished rivals. In 1832, Jackson again swept the board, receiving two hundred and nineteen electoral votes and six hundred and eighty-seven thousand two hundred and thirty-one popular votes, Henry Clay, the National Republican candidate, receiving forty-nine electoral votes, and five hundred and thirty thousand one hundred and eighty-nine popular votes. John Floyd and William Wirt received some thirty-three thousand votes from the people and eighteen from the electors. Martin Van Buren became Vice-President in Jackson's second term, receiving one hundred and eighty-nine votes, his competitors being John Sergeant, Henry Lee, Amos Ellmaker, and William Wilkins.

The Convention system was born under Jackson's Administration. Its object was to prevent defeat by scattered votes in the same party The anti-Masonic party held the first gathering of the sort, William Wirt being its nominee. The National Republicans followed in 1831, the Democrats in 1832. This machinery bore its first fruits in Jackson's second Presidential campaign. The Whig party made its first appearance in 1836, but its counsels were divided and it lost.

VAN BUREN was nominated by the Democrats, and in 1836, twenty-six States voting, he received one hundred and seventy electoral votes, four Whig candidates, William H. Harrison, Hugh L. White, Daniel Webster, and W. P. Mangum dividing among themselves eleven electoral votes. Van Buren's popular vote was seven hundred and sixty-one thousand five hundred and forty-nine; that of all others, seven hundred and thirty-six thousand six hundred and fifty-six. R. M. Johnson, who received one hundred and seventy electoral votes for Vice-President, not receiving a majority of all, was elected by the Senate. His competitors were Francis Granger, John Tyler, and William Smith.

HARRISON, in 1840, received a popular vote of one million two hundred and seventy-five thousand and seventeen, and an electoral vote of two hundred and thirty-four, as did John

Tyler, his associate on the Whig ticket. He was opposed by Van Buren, who polled one million one hundred and twenty-eight thousand seven hundred and two popular votes, and sixty of the electoral college, and by James G. Birney, of the Liberty or Abolition party, who polled seven thousand and fifty-nine votes. R. M. Johnson, L. W. Tazewell, and James K. Polk were candidates for the Vice-Presidency, receiving in all sixty electoral votes. Twenty-six States voted. Harrison's election was the first Whig success, and the campaign preceding it has been aptly termed "the great national frolic."

POLK was chosen President in 1844 over Birney, the Abolitionist, and Clay, the Whig, receiving a popular vote of one million three hundred and thirty-seven thousand two hundred and forty-three, and an electoral vote of one hundred and seventy, to Clay's one million two hundred and ninety-nine thousand and sixty-eight popular and one hundred and five electoral, Birney's vote being sixty-two thousand three hundred popular and none electoral. For Vice-President George M. Dallas received the same electoral vote as Polk, and Theodore Frelinghuysen the same as Clay.

TAYLOR was chosen by the Whigs in 1848, Clay and Webster being abandoned. He and his associate, Millard Fillmore, received each one hundred and sixty-three electoral votes and a popular vote of one million three hundred and sixty thousand one hundred and one. Lewis Cass, the Democratic nominee, and Wm. O. Butler, his associate, were regarded as a weak combination, but they polled one million two hundred and twenty thousand five hundred and forty-four votes, with one hundred and twenty-seven electors. Van Buren ran on the Free Soil ticket with Charles Francis Adams, and received two hundred and ninety-one thousand two hundred and sixty-three votes, thirty States voting. Taylor died, and Fillmore quarreled with his party, thus impairing its strength sadly.

PIERCE rode into power over the fragments of the Whig party, he and his associate, William R. King, receiving two

hundred and fifty-four electoral and one million six hundred and one thousand four hundred and seventy-four popular votes. Winfield Scott and William A. Graham, the Whig nominees, received forty-two electoral and one million three hundred and eighty-six thousand five hundred and seventy-eight popular votes, John P. Hale and George W. Julian, Free Democrats, polling one hundred and fifty-six thousand one hundred and forty-nine suffrages. This contest ended the Whig party. Thirty-one States voted.

BUCHANAN was chosen in 1856 by one hundred and seventy-four electoral votes, John C. Breckenridge being his associate, they receiving a popular vote of one million eight hundred and thirty-eight thousand one hundred and sixty-nine, John C. Fremont and Wm. L. Dayton, nominees of the newly-formed Republican party, receiving one hundred and fourteen electoral and one million three hundred and forty-one thousand two hundred and sixty-four popular votes, while Millard Fillmore and A. J. Donelson, of the American party, had eight electoral and eight hundred and seventy-four thousand five hundred and thirty-four popular votes. This was a most bitter campaign, saturated with all the issues of slavery, disunion, and border ruffianism.

LINCOLN was elected in 1860 by a popular vote of one million eight hundred and sixty-six thousand three hundred and fifty-two, and an electoral vote of one hundred and eighty, Hannibal Hamlin being his associate. This was the first victory for the Republicans. Democrats, Constitutional Unionists, and Independent Democrats voted respectively for Breckenridge and Lane, Bell and Everett, and Douglas and Johnson, who received electoral votes as follows: Breckenridge, seventy-two; Bell, thirty-nine; Douglas, twelve; and popular votes: Breckenridge, eight hundred and forty-five thousand seven hundred and sixty-three; Bell, five hundred and eighty-nine thousand five hundred and eighty-one; and Douglas, one million three hundred and seventy-five thousand one hundred and fifty-seven. Thirty-

three States engaged in this contest, of which Lincoln carried seventeen, Breckenridge eleven, Bell three, and Douglas two. Lincoln's second election, Andrew Johnson being his associate, was by two hundred and twelve electoral and two million two hundred and sixteen thousand and sixty-seven popular votes, George B. McClellan and G. H. Pendleton receiving twenty-one electoral and one million eight hundred and eight thousand seven hundred and twenty-five popular votes. Eleven States and eighty-one electors were not represented in this election. Of twenty-five voting States Lincoln carried all but three.

GRANT was chosen in 1872 over Horatio Seymour by two hundred and fourteen votes of the Electoral College to eighty, twenty-three electors, three States, not represented. Schuyler Colfax and Frank P. Blair, Jr., were the respective Vice-Presidential nominees. The popular vote was three million fifteen thousand and seventy-one, for Grant, to two million seven hundred and nine thousand six hundred and thirteen for Seymour. At the election of 1872 Grant had a long line of competitors, but he polled three million five hundred and ninety-seven thousand and seventy popular votes, and two hundred and eighty-six electoral out of a possible three hundred and sixty-six. All the States voted. His competitors on various tickets were Horace Greeley, Charles O'Conor, James Black, Thos. A. Hendricks, Charles J. Jenkins, and David Davis. Henry Wilson was chosen Vice-President, over B. Gratz Brown, Geo. W. Julian, A. H. Colquitt, John M. Palmer, T. E. Bramlette, W. S. Groesbeck, Willis B. Machen, and N. P. Banks.

HAYES was elected, with his associate, Wm. A. Wheeler, in a scattering contest. His popular vote was four million thirty-three thousand nine hundred and fifty. Samuel J. Tilden, (Democrat) received four million two hundred and eighty-four thousand eight hundred and eighty-five votes. Peter Cooper, (Greenback) eighty-one thousand seven hundred and forty. Green Clay Smith (Prohibition), nine thousand five hundred and twenty-two, and two thousand six hundred and

thirty-six were scattering. T. A. Hendricks was Mr. Tilden's associate. The disputed vote was settled by an Electoral Commission which awarded Hayes one hundred and eighty-five electoral votes and Tilden one hundred and eighty-four.

GARFIELD received, in 1880, a popular vote of four million four hundred and forty-nine thousand and fifty-three, and an electoral vote of two hundred and fourteen, together with Chester A. Arthur, his associate. Winfield S. Hancock and William H. English received four million four hundred and forty-two thousand and thirty-five popular, and one hundred and fifty-five electoral votes. The Greenback candidates, James B. Weaver and B. J. Chambers, received three hundred and seven thousand three hundred and six votes, and twelve thousand five hundred and seventy-six were reported as scattering. Thus the Republicans held the Presidency from Lincoln's election in 1860.

TABLES OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS.

SUMMARY OF POPULAR AND ELECTORAL VOTES FOR PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, 1789-1876.

Year of Election.	No. of States.	Total Elec. V.	Political Party.	* Presidents. Candidates.	Vote. States.	Vote. Popular.	Vote. Electoral	* Vice-Presidents. Candidates.	Elect. Vote.
1789	†10	73	.....	George Washington	..	.....	69	.....	...
			.....	John Adams	..	.....	...	.....	34
			.....	John Jay	..	.....	...	.....	9
			.....	R. H. Harrison	..	.....	...	.....	6
			.....	John Rutledge	..	.....	...	.....	6
			.....	John Hancock	..	.....	...	.....	4
			.....	George Clinton	..	.....	...	.....	3
			.....	Samuel Huntingdon	..	.....	...	.....	2
			.....	John Milton	..	.....	...	.....	2
			.....	James Armstrong	..	.....	...	.....	1
			.....	Benjamin Lincoln	..	.....	...	.....	1
			.....	Edward Telfair	..	.....	...	.....	1
				Vacancies	..	.....	4	.....	4
1792	15	135	Federalist	George Washington	..	.....	132	.....	...
			Federalist	John Adams	..	.....	...	.....	77
			Republican	George Clinton	..	.....	...	.....	50
			.....	Thomas Jefferson	..	.....	...	.....	4
			.....	Aaron Burr	..	.....	...	.....	1
				Vacancies	..	.....	3	.....	3
1796	16	138	Federalist	John Adams	..	.....	71	.....	...
			Republican	Thomas Jefferson	..	.....	...	.....	68
			Federalist	Thomas Pinckney	..	.....	...	.....	59
			Republican	Aaron Burr	..	.....	...	.....	30
			.....	Samuel Adams	..	.....	...	.....	15
			.....	Oliver Ellsworth	..	.....	...	.....	11
			.....	George Clinton	..	.....	...	.....	7
			.....	John Jay	..	.....	...	.....	5
			.....	James Iredell	..	.....	...	.....	3
			.....	George Washington	..	.....	...	.....	2
			.....	John Henry	..	.....	...	.....	2
			.....	S. Johnson	..	.....	...	.....	2
			.....	Charles C. Pinckney	..	.....	...	.....	1
1800	16	138	Republican	Thomas Jefferson	..	.....	‡73	.....	...
			Republican	Aaron Burr	..	.....	...	.....	‡73
			Federalist	John Adams	..	.....	...	.....	65
			Federalist	Charles C. Pinckney	..	.....	...	.....	64
			.....	John Jay	..	.....	...	.....	1

* Previous to the election of 1804 each elector voted for two candidates for President; the one receiving the highest number of votes, if a majority, was declared elected President; and the next highest Vice-President.

† Three States out of thirteen did not vote, viz.: New York, which had not passed an electoral law; and North Carolina and Rhode Island, which had not adopted the Constitution.

‡ There having been a tie vote, the choice devolved upon the House of Representatives. A choice was made on the 36th ballot, which was as follows: Jefferson—Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Vermont, and Virginia—10 States; Burr—Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island—4 States; Blank—Delaware and South Carolina—2 States.

Year of Election.	No. of States.	Total Elec. V.	Political Party.	Presidents. Candidates.	Vote. States.	Vote. Popular.	Vote. Electoral	Vice-Presidents. Candidates.	Elect. Vote.
1804	17	176	Republican	Thomas Jefferson..	15	.....	162	George Clinton..	162
			Federalist..	Charles C. Pinckney	2	.....	14	Rufus King.....	14
1808	17	176	Republican	James Madison. ..	12	.....	122	George Clinton..	113
			Federalist..	Charles C. Pinckney	5	.....	47	Rufus King.....	47
			.....	George Clinton.....	..	.....	6	John Langdon..	9
			.....	.....	..	.....	...	James Madison.	3
			.....	.....	..	.....	...	James Monroe..	3
				Vacancy	..	.....	1	.....	1
1812	18	218	Republican.	James Madison....	11	.....	128	Elbridge Gerry..	131
			Federalist..	De Witt Clinton....	7	.....	89	Jared Ingersoll..	86
			.....	Vacancy	..	.....	1	....	1
1816	19	221	Republican.	James Monroe.....	16	.....	183	D. D. Tompkins.	183
			Federalist..	Rufus King.....	3	.....	34	John E. Howard	22
			.....	.....	..	.....	...	James Ross.....	5
			.....	... .	..	.....	...	John Marshall..	4
			.....	.....	..	.....	...	Robt. G. Harper.	3
				Vacancies.....	..	.....	4	.....	4
1820	24	235	Republican	James Monroe.....	24	.....	231	D. D. Tompkins.	218
			Opposition.	John Q. Adams....	..	.. ..	1	Rich. Stockton..	8
			.....	.....	..	.....	...	Daniel Rodney.	4
			.....	.....	..	.....	...	Robt. G. Harper	1
			.....	.....	..	.....	...	Richard Rush...	1
				Vacancies.....	.	.....	3	... .	3
1824	24	261	Republican.	Andrew Jackson...	10	155,872	*99	John C. Calhoun	182
			Coalition..	John Q. Adams....	8	105,321	84	Nathan Sanford.	30
			Republican.	Wm. H. Crawford..	3	44,282	41	Nathaniel Macon	24
			Republican.	Henry Clay.....	3	46,587	37	Andrew Jackson	13
			.....	.....	..	.....	...	M. Van Buren..	9
			.....	.....	..	.....	...	Henry Clay.....	2
				Vacancy	..	.....	...	.....	1
1828	24	261	Democratic	Andrew Jackson...	15	647,231	178	John C. Calhoun	171
			Nat. Repub.	John Q. Adams ...	9	509,097	83	Richard Rush...	83
			.....	.....	..	.....	...	William Smith..	7
1832	24	288	Democratic	Andrew Jackson...	15	687,502	219	M. Van Buren...	189
			Nat. Repub.	Henry Clay.....	7	530,189	49	John Sergeant...	49
			.....	John Floyd.....	1	33,108	11	Henry Lee.....	11
			Anti-Mason	William Wirt....	1		7	Amos Ellmaker.	7
			.....	.....	..	.....	..	William Wilkins	30
				Vacancies.....	..	.....	2	.. ..	2
1836	26	294	Democratic.	Martin Van Buren.	15	761,549	170	R. M. Johnson†	147
			Whig	Wm. H. Harrison	7	736,656	73	Francis Granger.	77
			Whig.....	Hugh L. White..	2		26	John Tyler.....	47
			Whig... ...	Daniel Webster..	1		14	William Smith..	23
			Whig.....	W. P. Mangum...	1		11	.....	...

* No choice having been made by the Electoral College, the choice devolved upon the House of Representatives. A choice was made on the first ballot, which was as follows: Adams—Connecticut, Illinois, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Missouri, New Hampshire, New York, Ohio, Rhode Island, and Vermont—13 States; Jackson—Alabama, Indiana, Mississippi, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, and Tennessee—7 States; Crawford—Delaware, Georgia, North Carolina, and Virginia—4 States.

† No candidate having received a majority of the votes of the Electoral College, the Senate elected R. M. Johnson Vice-President, who received 33 votes; Francis Granger received 16

Year of Election.	No. of States.	Total Elec. V.	Political Party.	Presidents. Candidates.	Vote. States.	Vote. Popular.	Vote. Electoral	Vice-Presidents. Candidates.	Elect. Vote.
1840	26	294	Whig	Wm. H. Harrison..	19	1,275,017	234	John Tyler.....	234
			Democratic	Martin Van Buren.	7	1,128,702	60	R. M. Johnson..	48
			Liberty	James G. Birney...	..	7,059	...	.....	...
			.....	.....	..	.....	...	L. W. Tazewell.	11
			.....	.....	..	.....	...	James K. Polk..	1
1844	26	275	Democratic	James K. Polk.....	15	1,337,243	170	Geo. M. Dallas..	170
			Whig	Henry Clay.....	11	1,299,068	105	T. Frelinghuysen	105
			Liberty	James G. Birney...	..	62,300	...	.....	...
1848	30	290	Whig	Zachary Taylor.....	15	1,360,101	163	Millard Fillmore	163
			Democratic	Lewis Cass.....	15	1,220,544	127	Wm. O. Butler..	127
			Free Soil...	Martin Van Buren..	..	291,263	...	Chas. F. Adams.	...
1852	31	296	Democratic	Franklin Pierce....	27	1,601,474	254	Wm. R. King...	254
			Whig	Winfield Scott.....	4	1,386,578	42	Wm. A. Graham	42
			Free Dem..	John P. Hale.....	..	156,149	...	Geo. W. Julian..	...
1856	31	296	Democratic	James Buchanan...	19	1,838,169	174	J. C. Breckinr'ge	174
			Republican.	John C. Fremont..	11	1,341,264	114	Wm. L. Dayton.	114
			American ..	Millard Fillmore...	1	874,534	8	A. J. Donelson..	8
1860	33	303	Republican.	Abraham Lincoln..	17	1,866,352	180	Hannibal Hamlin	180
			Democratic.	J. C. Breckinridge..	11	845,763	72	Joseph Lane....	72
			Cons. Union	John Bell.....	3	589,581	39	Edward Everett.	39
			Ind. Dem...	S. A. Douglas.....	2	1,375,157	12	H. V. Johnson..	12
1864	*36	314	Republican.	Abraham Lincoln..	22	2,216,067	212	Andrew Johnson	212
			Democratic	Geo. B. McClellan..	3	1,808,725	21	G. H. Pendleton.	21
				Vacancies.....	11	.....	81	.....	81
1868	†37	317	Republican.	Ulysses S. Grant...	26	3,015,071	214	Schuyler Colfax.	214
			Democratic.	Horatio Seymour ..	8	2,709,613	80	F. P. Blair, Jr...	80
				Vacancies.....	3	.....	23	.....	23
1872	37	366	Republican.	Ulysses S. Grant...	31	3,597,070	286	Henry Wilson...	286
			Dem. & Lib.	Horace Greeley....	6	2,834,079	...	B. Gratz Brown.	47
			Democratic.	Charles O'Conor...	..	29,408	...	Geo. W. Julian..	5
			Temp'rance	James Black.....	..	5,608	...	A. H. Colquitt...	5
			.....	Thos. A. Hendricks	..	.....	42	John M. Palmer.	3
			.....	B. Gratz Brown....	..	.....	18	T. E. Bramlette.	3
			.....	Charles J. Jenkins.	..	.....	2	W. S. Groesbeck	1
			.....	David Davis.....	..	.....	1	Willis B. Machen	1
			.....	.....	..	.....	...	N. P. Banks.....	1
				‡ Not Counted...	..	.....	17	.....	14
1876	38	369	Republican.	Rutherford B. Hayes	21	4,033,950	185	Wm. A. Wheeler	185
			Democratic.	Samuel J. Tilden...	17	4,284,885	184	T. A. Hendricks	184
			Greenback..	Peter Cooper.....	..	81,740	...	.....	...
			Prohibition	Green Clay Smith..	..	9,522	...	.....	...
			.....	Scattering.	..	2,636	...	.....	...
1880	38	369	Republican..	James A. Garfield...	19	4,449,053	214	Chester A. Arthur	214
			Democratic.	Winfield S. Hancock	19	4,442,035	155	Wm. H. English..	155
			Greenback..	James B. Weaver...	...	307,306	.....	B. J. Chambers..	.....
			.....	Scattering	...	12,576	.....	.....	.....

* Eleven States did not vote, viz.: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

† Three States did not vote, viz.: Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia.

‡ Three electoral votes of Georgia cast for Horace Greeley, and the votes of Arkansas, 6 and Louisiana, 8, cast for U. S. Grant, were rejected. If all had been included in the count the electoral vote would have been 309 for U. S. Grant, and 66 for opposing candidates.

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION.

The Presidential election will take place on Tuesday, November 4th, 1884. The Constitution prescribes that each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in Congress. For the election this year the electors by States will be as follows:

States.	Electoral Vote.	States.	Electoral Vote.
Alabama	10	Missouri	16
Arkansas	7	Nebraska	5
California	8	Nevada	3
Colorado	3	New Hampshire	4
Connecticut	6	New Jersey	9
Delaware	3	New York	36
Florida	4	North Carolina	11
Georgia	12	Ohio	23
Illinois	22	Oregon	3
Indiana	15	Pennsylvania	30
Iowa	13	Rhode Island	4
Kansas	9	South Carolina	9
Kentucky	13	Tennessee	12
Louisiana	8	Texas	13
Maine	6	Vermont	4
Maryland	8	Virginia	12
Massachusetts	14	West Virginia	6
Michigan	13	Wisconsin	11
Minnesota	7		
Mississippi	9	Total	401

Necessary to a choice, 201.

No Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of profit or trust under the United States, shall be an elector. In all the States, the laws thereof direct that the people shall choose the electors. The Constitution declares that the day when electors are chosen shall be the same throughout the United States. The electors shall meet in their respective States on the first Wednesday in December, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State as themselves.

QUALIFICATIONS FOR VOTERS.

States.	Age.	Requirement as to Citizenship.	Residence in State.	Residence in County.	Registration.
Alabama	21	Citizens or declared intention.	1 yr.	3 mo	No law.
Arkansas	21	Citizens or declared intention.	1 yr.	6 mo	Prohibited.
California	21	Actual citizens	1 yr.	90ds	Required.
Colorado	21	Citizens or declared intention.	6 mo	.....	Required.
Connecticut	21	Actual citizens	1 yr.	6 mo	Required.
Delaware	21	Actual County taxpayers	1 yr.	1 mo	Not required.
Florida	21	United States citizens or declared intention	1 yr.	6 mo	Required.
Georgia	21	Actual citizens	1 yr.	6 mo	No law.
Illinois	21	Actual citizens	1 yr.	90ds	Required.
Indiana	21	Citizens or declared intention.	6 mo	60ds	No law.
Iowa	21	Actual citizens	6 mo	60ds	Required.
Kansas	21	Citizens or declared intention.	6 mo	.....	Req'd in cities
Kentucky	21	Free white male citizens	2 yrs	1 yr.	Not required.
Louisiana	21	Citizens or declared intention.	1 yr.	6 mo	No law.
Maine	21	Actual citizens	3 mo	.....	Required.
Maryland	21	Actual citizens	1 yr.	6 mo	Required.
Massachusetts	21	Citizens	1 yr.	.....	Required.
Michigan	21	Citizens or declared intention.	3 mo	.....	Required.
Minnesota	21	Citizens or declared intention.	4 mo	.....	Required.
Mississippi	21	Actual citizens	6 mo	1 mo	Required.
Missouri	21	Citizens or declared intention.	1 yr.	60ds	Req'd in cities
Nebraska	21	Citizens or declared intention.	6 mo	.....	Required.
Nevada	21	Citizens or declared intention.	6 mo	30ds	Required.
N. Hampshire	21	Actual citizens	.....	5 mo	Required.
New Jersey	21	Actual citizens	1 yr.	4 mo	Req'd in cities
New York	21	Actual citizens	1 yr.	90ds	Req'd in cities
N. Carolina	21	Actual citizens	1 yr.	.....	Required.
Ohio	21	Actual citizens	1 yr.	.....	Not required.
Oregon	21	Citizens or declared intention.	6 mo		
Pennsylvania	21	Actual citizens	1 yr.	.....	Required.
Rhode Island	21	Actual tax-paying citizens	1 yr.	.....	Required.
S. Carolina	21	Actual citizens	1 yr.	60ds	Required.
Tennessee	21	Actual citizens	1 yr.	6 mo	Not required.
Texas	21	Citizens or declared intention.	1 yr.	6 mo	Prohibited.
Vermont	21	Actual citizens	1 yr.	.....	Required.
Virginia	21	Actual citizens	1 yr.	.....	Required.
W. Virginia	21	Actual citizens	1 yr.	60ds	Prohibited.
Wisconsin	21	Citizens or declared intention.	1 yr.	.....	Required.

NOTE.—In several States women are permitted to vote on the school questions, selection of directors, etc.

PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

Presidential Term.	Name.	Qualified.	Born.	Died.
1	George Washington..	April 30, 1789	Feb. 22, 1732	Dec. 14, 1799
2	George Washington..	March 4, 1793		
3	John Adams.....	March 4, 1797	Oct. 19 1735,	July 4, 1826
4	Thomas Jefferson	March 4, 1801	April 2, 1743	July 4, 1826
5	Thomas Jefferson.....	March 4, 1805		
6	James Madison.....	March 4, 1809	March 5, 1751	June 28, 1836
7	James Madison.....	March 4, 1813		
8	James Monroe..	March 4, 1817	April 28, 1758	July 4, 1831
9	James Monroe	March 5, 1821		
10	John Quincy Adams.	March 4, 1825	July 11, 1767	Feb. 23, 1848
11	Andrew Jackson.....	March 4, 1829	Mar. 15, 1767	June 8, 1 45
12	Andrew Jackson.....	March 4, 1833		
13	Martin Van Buren...	March 4, 1837	Dec. 5, 1782	July 24, 1862
14	Wm. H. Harrison.*	March 4, 1841	Feb. 9, 1773	April 4, 1841
	John Tyler....	April 6, 1841	Mar. 29, 1790	Jan. 17, 1862
15	James K. Polk.....	March 4, 1845	Nov. 2, 1795	June 15, 1849
16	Zachary Taylor*.....	March 5, 1849	Nov. 24, 1784	July 9, 1850
	Millard Fillmore.....	July 9, 1850	Jan. 7, 1800	
17	Franklin Pierce.	March 4, 1853	Nov. 23, 1804	Oct. 8 1869
18	James Buchanan.....	March 4, 1857	April 22, 1791	June 1, 1868
19	Abraham Lincoln....	March 4, 1861	Feb. 12, 1809	April 15, 1865
20	Abraham Lincoln *..	March 4, 1865		
	Andrew Johnson.....	April 15, 1865	Dec. 29, 1808	July 30, 1875
21	Ulysses S. Grant	March 4, 1869	April 27, 1822	
22	Ulysses S. Grant.....	March 4, 1873		
23	Rutherford B. Hayes	March 5, 1877	Oct. 4, 1822	
24	James A. Garfield*...	March 4, 1881	Nov. 19, 1831	Sept. 19, 1881
	Chester A. Arthur....	Sept'r 20, 1881	Oct. 5, 1830	

Total number of incumbents, 21. * Died in office.

HOMES OF THE PRESIDENTS.

	Native State.	Whence Elected.
Washington.....	Virginia.....	Virginia.
Adams	Massachusetts.....	Massachusetts.
Jefferson	Virginia.....	Virginia.
Madison.....	"	"
Monroe	"	"
Adams, J. Quincy.....	Massachusetts.....	Massachusetts.
Jackson.....	North Carolina.....	Tennessee.
Van Buren	New York.....	New York.
Harrison	Virginia.....	Ohio.
Tyler.....	"	Virginia.
Polk.....	North Carolina.....	Tennessee.
Taylor.....	Virginia.....	Louisiana.
Fillmore.....	New York.....	New York.
Pierce	New Hampshire...	New Hampshire.
Buchanan.....	Pennsylvania.....	Pennsylvania.
Lincoln.....	Kentucky.....	Illinois.
Johnson.....	North Carolina.....	Tennessee.
Grant.....	Ohio	Illinois.
Hayes.....	"	Ohio.
Garfield	"	"
Arthur.....	New York.....	New York.

VICE-PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

Vice-Pres. Term.	Name.	Qualified.	Born.	Died.
1	John Adams	June 3, 1789	1735	1826
2	John Adams	Dec. 2, 1793		
3	Thomas Jefferson	March 4, 1797	1743	1826
4	Aaron Burr	March 4, 1801	1756	1836
5	George Clinton	March 4, 1805	1739	1812
6	George Clinton*	March 4, 1809		
	William H. Crawford†	April 10, 1812	1772	1834
7	Elbridge Gerry*	March 4, 1813	1744	1814
	John Gaillard*	Nov. 25, 1814		1826
8	Daniel D. Tompkins	March 4, 1817	1744	1825
9	Daniel D. Tompkins	March 5, 1821		
10	John C. Calhoun	March 4, 1825	1782	1850
11	John C Calhoun‡	March 4, 1829		
	Hugh L. White†	Dec. 28, 1832	1773	1840
12	Martin Van Buren	March 4, 1833	1782	1862
13	Richard M. Johnson	March 4, 1837	1780	1850
14	John Tyler§	March 4, 1841	1790	1862
	Samuel L. Southard†	April 6, 1841	1787	1842
	Willie P. Mangum†	May 31, 1842	1792	1861
15	George M. Dallas	March 4, 1845	1792	1864
16	Millard Fillmore§	March 5, 1849	1800	1869
	William R. King†	July 11, 1850	1786	1853
17	William R. King*	March 4, 1853		
	David R. Atchison†	April 18, 1853	1807	
	Jesse D. Bright †	Dec. 5, 1854	1812	
18	John C. Breckenridge	March 4, 1857	1821	1875
19	Hannibal Hamlin	March 4, 1861	1809	
20	Andrew Johnson§	March 4, 1865	1808	1875
	Lafayette S. Foster†	April 15, 1865	1806	
	Benjamin F. Wade†	March 2, 1867	1800	
21	Schuyler Colfax	March 4, 1869	1823	
22	Henry Wilson*	March 4, 1873	1812	1875
	Thomas W. Ferry †	Nov. 22, 1875	1827	
23	William A. Wheeler	March 5, 1877	1819	
24	Chester A. Arthur §	March 4, 1881	1830	
	David Davis †	Oct. 13, 1881	1815	
	George F. Edmunds†	March 3, 1883	1828	

* Died in office. † Acting Vice-President and President *pro tem.* of the Senate. ‡ Resigned the Vice-Presidency. § Became President.

CABINETS OF THE PRESIDENTS.

GEORGE WASHINGTON: April 30, 1789—March 4, 1797 (two terms).

Secretary of State:	Thomas Jefferson,	appointed	Sept. 26, 1789
" "	Edmund Randolph,	"	Jan. 2, 1794
" "	Timothy Pickering,	"	Dec. 10, 1795

Secretary of Treasury:	Alexander Hamilton,	appointed	Sept. 11, 1789
" "	Oliver Wolcott,	"	Feb. 2, 1795
" *War:*	Henry Knox,	"	Sept. 12, 1789
" "	Timothy Pickering,	"	Jan. 2, 1795
" "	James McHenry,	"	Jan. 27, 1796
Postmaster-General:	Samuel Osgood,	"	Sept. 26, 1789
" "	Timothy Pickering,	"	Aug. 12, 1791
" "	Joseph Habersham,	"	Feb. 25, 1795
Attorney-General:	Edmund Randolph,	"	Sept. 26, 1789
" "	William Bradford,	"	Jan. 27, 1794
" "	Charles Lee,	"	Dec. 10, 1795

JOHN ADAMS: March 4, 1797—March 4, 1801 (one term).

Secretary of State:	Timothy Pickering,	appointed	March 4, 1797
" "	John Marshall,	"	May 13, 1800
" *Treasury:*	Oliver Wolcott,	"	March 4, 1797
" "	Samuel Dexter,	"	Jan. 1, 1801
" *War:*	James McHenry,	"	March 4, 1797
" "	Samuel Dexter,	"	May 13, 1800
" "	Rodger Griswold,	"	Feb. 3, 1801
" *Navy:*	Benjamin Stoddart,	"	May 21, 1798
Postmaster-General:	Joseph Habersham,	"	March 4, 1797
Attorney-General:	Charles Lee,	"	March 4, 1797
" "	Theophilus Parsons,	"	Feb. 20, 1801

THOMAS JEFFERSON: March 4, 1801—March 4, 1809 (two terms).

Secretary of State:	James Madison,	appointed	March 5, 1801
" *Treasury:*	Albert Gallatin,	"	May 14, 1801
" *War:*	Henry Dearborn,	"	March 5, 1801
" *Navy:*	Benjamin Stoddert,	"	March 4, 1801
" "	Robert Smith,	"	July 15, 1801
" "	J. Crowninshield,	"	March 3, 1805
Postmaster-General:	Joseph Habersham,	"	March 4, 1801
" "	Gideon Granger,	"	Nov. 28, 1801
Attorney-General:	Levi Lincoln,	"	March 5, 1801
" "	Robert Smith,	"	March 3, 1805
" "	John Breckinridge,	"	Aug. 7, 1805
" "	Cæsar A. Rodney,	"	Jan. 28, 1807

JAMES MADISON: March 4, 1809—March 4, 1817 (two terms).

Secretary of State:	Robert Smith,	appointed	March 6, 1809
" "	James Monroe,	"	April 2, 1811
" *Treasury:*	Albert Gallatin,	"	March 4, 1809
" "	George W. Campbell,	"	Feb. 9, 1814
" "	Alexander J. Dallas,	"	Oct. 6, 1814
" "	William H. Crawford,	"	Oct. 22, 1816
" *War:*	William Eustis,	"	March 7, 1809
" "	John Armstrong,	"	Jan. 13, 1813
" "	James Monroe,	"	Sept. 27, 1814
" "	William H. Crawford,	"	Aug. 1, 1815
" *Navy:*	Paul Hamilton,	"	March 7, 1809
" "	William Jones,	"	Jan. 12, 1813
" "	B. W. Crowninshield,	"	Dec. 19, 1814

Postmaster-General:	Gideon Granger,	appointed	March 4, 1809
" "	Return J. Meigs, Jr.,	"	March 17, 1814
Attorney-General:	Cæsar A. Rodney,	"	March 4, 1809
" "	William Pinkney,	"	Dec. 11, 1811
" "	Richard Rush,	"	Feb. 10, 1814

JAMES MONROE: March 4, 1817—March 4, 1825 (two terms).

Secretary of State:	John Quincy Adams,	appointed	March 5, 1817
" *Treasury*	William H. Crawford,	"	March 5, 1817
" *War:*	George Graham,	"	*ad interim.*
" "	John C. Calhoun,	"	Oct. 8, 1817
" *Navy:*	B. W. Crowninshield,	"	March 4, 1817
" "	Smith Thompson,	"	Nov. 9, 1818
" "	Samuel L. Southard,	"	Sept. 16, 1823
Postmaster-General:	Return J. Meigs, Jr.,	"	March 4, 1817
" "	John McLean,	"	June 26, 1823
Attorney-General:	Richard Rush,	"	March 4, 1817
" "	William Wirt,	"	Nov. 13, 1817

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS: March 4, 1825—March 4, 1829 (one term).

Secretary of State:	Henry Clay,	appointed	March 7, 1825
" *Treasury:*	Richard Rush,	"	March 7, 1825
" *War:*	James Barbour,	"	March 7, 1825
" "	Peter B. Porter,	"	May 26, 1828
" *Navy:*	Samuel L. Southard,	"	March 4, 1825
Postmaster-General:	John McLean,	"	March 4, 1825
Attorney-General:	William Wirt,	"	March 4, 1825

ANDREW JACKSON: March 4, 1829—March 4, 1837 (two terms).

Secretary of State:	Martin Van Buren,	appointed	March 6, 1829
" "	Edward Livingston,	"	May 24, 1831
" "	Louis McLane,	"	May 29, 1833
" "	John Forsyth,	"	June 27, 1834
" *Treasury:*	Samuel D. Ingham,	"	March 6, 1829
" "	Louis McLane,	"	Aug. 2, 1831
" "	William J. Duane,	"	May 29, 1833
" "	Roger B. Taney,	"	Sept. 23, 1833
" "	Levi Woodbury,	"	June 27, 1834
" *War:*	John H. Eaton,	"	March 9, 1829
" "	Lewis Cass,	"	Aug. 1, 1831
" *Navy:*	John Branch,	"	March 9, 1829
" "	Levi Woodbury,	"	May 23, 1831
" "	Mahlon Dickerson,	"	June 30, 1834
Postmaster-General:	William T. Barry,	"	March 9, 1829
" "	Amos Kendall,	"	May 1, 1835
Attorney-General:	John M. Berrien,	"	March 9, 1829
" "	Roger B. Taney,	"	July 20, 1831
" "	Benjamin F. Butler,	"	Nov. 15, 1833

MARTIN VAN BUREN: March 4, 1837—March 4, 1841 (one term).

Secretary of State:	John Forsyth,	appointed	March 4, 1837
" *Treasury:*	Levi Woodbury,	"	March 4, 1837
" *War:*	Joel R. Poinsett,	"	March 7, 1837

Secretary of Navy:	Mahlon Dickerson,	appointed	March 4, 1837
" "	James K. Paulding,	"	June 25, 1838
Postmaster-General:	Amos Kendal,	"	March 4, 1837
" "	John M. Niles,	"	May 25, 1840
Attorney-General:	Benjamin F. Butler,	"	March 4, 1837
" "	Felix Grundy,	"	July 5, 1838
" "	Henry D. Gilpin,	"	Jan. 11, 1840

WILLIAM H. HARRISON: March 4, 1841—April 6, 1841 (partial term).

Secretary of State:	Daniel Webster,	appointed	March 5, 1841
" *Treasury:*	Thomas Ewing,	"	March 5, 1841
" *War:*	John Bell,	"	March 5, 1841
" *Navy:*	George E. Badger,	"	March 5, 1841
Postmaster-General:	Francis Granger,	"	March 6, 1841
Attorney-General:	John J. Crittenden,	"	March 5, 1841

JOHN TYLER: April 6, 1841—March 4, 1845 (partial term).

Secretary of State:	Daniel Webster,	appointed	April 6, 1841
" "	Hugh S. Legare,	"	May 9, 1843
" "	Abel P. Upshur,	"	July 24, 1843
" "	John C. Calhoun,	"	March 6, 1844
" *Treasury:*	Thomas Ewing,	"	April 6, 1841
" "	Walter Forward,	"	Sept. 13, 1841
" "	John C. Spencer,	"	March 3, 1843
" "	George M. Bibb,	"	June 15, 1844
" *War:*	John Bell,	"	April 6, 1841
" "	John C. Spencer,	"	Oct. 12, 1841
" "	James M. Porter,	"	March 8, 1843
" "	William Wilkins,	"	June 15, 1844
" *Navy:*	George E. Badger,	"	April 6, 1841
" "	Abel P. Upshur,	"	Sept. 13, 1841
" "	David Henshaw,	"	July 24, 1843
" "	Thomas W. Gilmer,	"	Feb. 15, 1844
" "	John Y. Mason,	"	March 14, 1844
Postmaster-General:	Francis Granger,	"	April 6, 1841
" "	Charles A. Wickliffe,	"	Sept. 13, 1841
Attorney-General:	John J. Crittenden,	"	April 6, 1841
" "	Hugh S. Legare,	"	Sept. 13, 1841
" "	John Nelson,	"	July 1, 1843

JAMES K. POLK: March 4, 1845—March 5, 1849 (one term).

Secretary of State:	James Buchanan,	appointed	March 6, 1845
" *Treasury:*	Robert J. Walker,	"	March 6, 1845
" *War:*	William L. Marcy,	"	March 6, 1845
" *Navy:*	George Bancroft,	"	March 10, 1845
" "	John Y. Mason,	"	Sept. 9, 1846
Postmaster-General:	Cave Johnson,	"	March 6, 1845
Attorney-General:	John Y. Mason,	"	March 6, 1845
" "	Nathan Clifford,	"	Oct. 17, 1846
" "	Isaac Toucey,	"	June 21, 1848

ZACHARY TAYLOR: March 5, 1849—July 9, 1850 (partial term).

Secretary of State:	John M. Clayton,	appointed	March 7, 1849
" *Treasury:*	William M. Meredith,	"	March 8, 1849
" *War:*	George W. Crawford,	"	March 8, 1849
" *Navy:*	William B. Preston,	"	March 8, 1849
" *Interior:*	Thomas Ewing,	"	March 8, 1849
Postmaster-General:	Jacob Collamer,	"	March 8, 1849
Attorney-General:	Reverdy Johnson,	"	March 8, 1849

MILLARD FILLMORE: July 9, 1850—March 4, 1853 (partial term).

Secretary of State:	Daniel Webster,	appointed	July 22, 1850
" "	Edward Everett,	"	Nov. 6, 1852
" *Treasury:*	Thomas Corwin,	"	July 23, 1850
" *War:*	Charles M. Conrad,	"	Aug. 15, 1850
" *Navy:*	William A. Graham,	"	July 22, 1850
" "	John P. Kennedy,	"	July 22, 1852
" *Interior:*	Alex. H. H. Stuart,	"	Sept. 12, 1850
Postmaster-General:	Nathan K. Hall,	"	July 23, 1850
" "	Samuel D. Hubbard,	"	Aug. 31, 1852
Attorney-General:	John J. Crittenden,	"	July 22, 1850

FRANKLIN PIERCE: March 4, 1853—March 4, 1857 (one term).

Secretary of State:	William L. Marcy,	appointed	March 7, 1853
" *Treasury:*	James Guthrie,	"	March 7, 1853
" *War:*	Jefferson Davis,	"	March 5, 1853
" *Navy:*	James C. Dobbin,	"	March 7, 1853
" *Interior:*	Robert McClelland,	"	March 7, 1853
Postmaster-General:	James Campbell,	"	March 5, 1853
Attorney-General:	Caleb Cushing,	"	March 7, 1853

JAMES BUCHANAN: March 4, 1857—March 4, 1861 (one term).

Secretary of State:	Lewis Cass,	appointed	March 6, 1857
" "	Jeremiah S. Black,	"	Dec. 17, 1860
" *Treasury:*	Howell Cobb,	"	March 6, 1857
" "	Philip F. Thomas,	"	Dec. 12, 1860
" "	John A. Dix,	"	Jan. 11, 1861
" *War:*	John B. Floyd,	"	March 6, 1857
" "	Joseph Holt,	"	Jan. 18, 1861
" *Navy:*	Isaac Toucey,	"	March 6, 1857
" *Interior:*	Jacob Thompson,	"	March 6, 1857
Postmaster-General:	Aaron V. Brown,	"	March 6, 1857
" "	Joseph Holt,	"	March 14, 1859
" "	Horatio King,	"	Feb. 12, 1861
Attorney-General:	Jeremiah S. Black,	"	March 6, 1857
" "	Edwin M. Stanton,	"	Dec. 20, 1860

ABRAHAM LINCOLN: March 4, 1861—April 15, 1865 (one term and a part).

Secretary of State:	William H. Seward,	appointed	March 5, 1861
" *Treasury:*	Salmon P. Chase,	"	March 7, 1861

Secretary of Treasury:	William P. Fessenden,	appointed	July 1, 1864
" "	Hugh McCulloch,	"	March 7, 1865
" *War:*	Simon Cameron,	"	March 5, 1861
" "	Edwin M. Stanton,	"	Jan. 15, 1862
" *Navy:*	Gideon Welles,	"	March 5, 1861
" *Interior:*	Caleb B. Smith,	"	March 5, 1861
" "	John P. Usher,	"	Jan. 8, 1863
Postmaster-General:	Montgomery Blair,	"	March 5, 1861
" "	William Dennison,	"	Sept. 24, 1864
Attorney-General:	Edward Bates,	"	March 5, 1861
" "	Titian J. Coffey, *ad int.*,	"	June 22, 1863
" "	James Speed	"	Dec. 2, 1864

ANDREW JOHNSON: April 15, 1865—March 4, 1869 (partial term).

Secretary of State:	William H. Seward,	appointed	April 15, 1865
" "	Elihu B. Washburne,	"	March 5, 1869
" *Treasury:*	Hugh McCulloch,	"	April 15, 1865
" *War:*	Edwin M. Stanton,	"	April 15, 1865
" "	Ulysses S. Grant, *ad int.*,	"	Aug. 12, 1868
" "	Lorenzo Thomas,	"	Feb. 21, 1868
" "	John M. Schofield,	"	May 28, 1868
" *Navy:*	Gideon Welles,	"	April 15, 1865
" *Interior:*	John P. Usher,	"	April 15, 1865
" "	James Harlan,	"	May 15, 1865
" "	Orville H. Browning,	"	July 27, 1866
Postmaster-General:	William Dennison,	"	April 15, 1865
" "	Alexander W. Randall,	"	July 25, 1866
Attorney-General:	James Speed,	"	April 15, 1865
" "	Henry Stanbery,	"	July 23, 1866
" "	William M. Evarts,	"	July 15, 1868

ULYSSES S. GRANT: March 4, 1869—March 5, 1877 (two terms).

Secretary of State:	Hamilton Fish,	appointed	March 11, 1869
" *Treasury:*	George S. Boutwell,	"	March 11, 1869
" "	William A. Richardson,	"	March 17, 1873
" "	Benjamin H. Bristow,	"	June 4, 1874
" "	Lot M. Morrill,	"	July 7, 1876
" *War:*	John A. Rawlins,	"	March 11, 1869
" "	William W. Belknap,	"	Oct. 25, 1869
" "	Alphonso Taft,	"	March 8, 1876
" "	James D. Cameron,	"	May 22, 1876
" *Navy:*	Adolph E. Borie,	"	March 5, 1869
" "	George M. Robeson,	"	June 25, 1869
" *Interior:*	Jacob D. Cox,	"	March 5, 1869
" "	Columbus Delano,	"	Nov. 1, 1870
" "	Zachariah Chandler,	"	Oct. 19, 1875
Postmaster-General:	John A. J. Creswell,	"	March 5, 1869
" "	Marshall Jewell,	"	Aug. 24, 1874
" "	James N. Tyner,	"	July 12, 1876
Attorney-General:	E. Rockwood Hoar,	"	March 5, 1869
" "	Amos T. Akerman,	"	June 23, 1870
" "	George H. Williams,	"	Dec. 14, 1871
" "	Edwards Pierrepont,	"	April 26, 1875
" "	Alphonso Taft,	"	May 29, 1876

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES: March 5, 1877—March 4, 1881 (one term).

Secretary of State:	William M. Evarts,	appointed	March 12, 1877
" *Treasury:*	John Sherman,	"	March 8, 1877
" *War:*	George W. McCrary,	"	March 12, 1877
" "	Alexander Ramsey,	"	Dec. 10, 1879
" *Navy:*	Richard W. Thompson,	"	March 12, 1877
" "	Nathan Goff, Jr.,	"	Jan. 6, 1881
" *Interior:*	Carl Schurz,	"	March 12, 1877
Postmaster-General:	David McK. Key,	"	March 12, 1877
" "	Horace Maynard,	"	June 2, 1880
Attorney-General:	Charles Devens,	"	March 12, 1877

JAMES A. GARFIELD: March 4, 1881—September 19, 1881 (partial term).

Secretary of State:	James G. Blaine,	appointed	March 5, 1881
" *Treasury:*	William Windom,	"	March 5, 1881
" *War:*	Robert T. Lincoln,	"	March 5, 1881
" *Navy:*	William H. Hunt,	"	March 5, 1881
" *Interior:*	Samuel J. Kirkwood,	"	March 5, 1881
Postmaster-General:	Thomas L. James,	"	March 5, 1881
Attorney-General:	Wayne MacVeagh,	"	March 5, 1881

CHESTER A. ARTHUR, September 20, 1881———

Secretary of State:	F. T. Frelinghuysen,	appointed	Dec. 12, 1881
" *Treasury:*	Charles J. Folger,	"	Oct. 27, 1881
" *War:*	Robert T. Lincoln,	"	Sept. 20, 1881
" *Navy:*	William E. Chandler,	"	April 1, 1882
" *Interior:*	Henry M. Teller,	"	April 6, 1882
Postmaster-General:	Timothy O. Howe,	"	Dec. 20, 1881
Attorney-General:	Benjamin H. Brewster,	"	Dec. 19, 1881

COMMANDERS OF THE U. S. ARMY—1775-1884.

Major-General George Washington	June 15, 1775, to December 23, 1783.
Major-General Henry Knox	December 23, 1783, to June 20, 1784.
Lieutenant-Colonel Josiah Harmer, general-in-chief by brevet	September, 1788, to March, 1791.
Major-General Arthur St. Clair	March 4, 1791, to March, 1792.
Major-General Anthony Wayne	April 11, 1792, to December 15, 1796.
Major-General James Wilkinson	December 15, 1796, to July. 1798.
Lieutenant-General George Washington	July 3, 1798, to his death, December 14, 1799.
Major-General James Wilkinson	June, 1800, to January, 1812.
Major-General Henry Dearborn	January 27, 1812, to June, 1815.
Major-General Jacob Brown	June, 1815, to February 21, 1828
Major-General Alexander Macomb	May 24, 1828, to June, 1841.
Major-General Winfield Scott (brevet Lieutenant-General)	June, 1841, to November 1, 1861.
Major-General George B. McClellan	November 1, 1861, to March 11, 1862.
Major-General Henry W. Halleck	July 11, 1862, to March 12, 1864.
Lieutenant-General Ulysses S. Grant	March 12 1864, to July 25, 1866, and as General to March 4, 1869.
General William T. Sherman	March 4, 1869, to November 1, 1883.
Lieutenant-General Philip H. Sheridan	Since November 1, 1883.

CHIEF OFFICERS OF THE U. S. ARMY.

		Entered the Army.
General of the Army	Lieut.-Gen. Philip H. Sheridan	1853
Major-Generals	Winfield S. Hancock	1844
	John M. Schofield	1853
	John Pope	1842
Brigadier-Generals	Oliver O. Howard	1854
	Alfred H. Terry	1865
	Christopher C. Augur	1843
	George Crook	1852
	Nelson A. Miles	1866
	Ranold S. Mackenzie	1862

CHIEF OFFICERS OF THE U. S. NAVY.

Name.	Whence Appointed.	Original Entry into Service.	Rank.
David D. Porter	Penn.	1829	Admiral.
Stephen C. Rowan	Ohio	1826	Vice-Admiral.
John L. Worden	N. Y.	1834	Rear-Admirals.
Edward T. Nichols	Ga.	1836	
George H. Cooper	N. Y.	1837	
Aaron K. Hughes	N. Y.	1838	
Charles H. Baldwin	N. Y.	1839	
Robert W. Shufeldt	N. Y.	1839	
Thomas Pattison	N. Y.	1839	
Edward Simpson	N. Y.	1840	Commodores.
William G. Temple	Vt	1840	
Thomas S. Phelps	Maine	1840	
Clark H. Wells	Penn.	1840	
S. P. Quackenbush	N. Y.	1840	
Earl English	N. J.	1840	
John H. Upshur	D. C.	1841	
Francis A. Roe	N. Y.	1841	
Samuel R. Franklin	Penn.	1841	
Edward Y. McCauley	Penn.	1841	
J. C. P. de Krafft	Ill	1841	
Oscar C. Badger	Penn.	1841	
Stephen B. Luce	N. Y.	1841	
John Lee Davis	Ind	1841	
Alexander A. Semmes	Md.	1841	
William T. Truxtun	Penn.	1841	
Jonathan Young	Ill	1841	
William K. Mayo	Va.	1841	
James E. Jowett	Ky.	1841	
T. Scott Fillebrown	Maine	1841	
Johnuss H. Rell	Md	1841	

SPEAKERS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.*

Name.	State.	Congress	Term of Service.
F. A. Muhlenberg	Pennsylvania	1st	April 1, 1789, to March 4, 1791
Jonathan Trumbull	Connecticut	2d	October 24, 1791, to March 4, 1793
F. A. Muhlenberg	Pennsylvania	3d	December 2, 1793, to March 4, 1795
Jonathan Dayton	New Jersey	4th	December 7, 1795, to March 4, 1797
" "	" "	5th	May 15, 1797, to March 3, 1799
Theodore Sedgwick	Massachusetts	6th	December 2, 1799, to March 4, 1801
Nathaniel Macon	North Carolina	7th	December 7, 1801, to March 4, 1803
" "	" "	8th	October 17, 1803, to March 4, 1805
" "	" "	9th	December 2, 1805, to March 4, 1807
Joseph B. Varnum	Massachusetts	10th	October 26, 1807, to March 4, 1809
" "	"	11th	May 22, 1809, to March 4, 1811
Henry Clay	Kentucky	12th	November 4, 1811, to March 4, 1813
" "	"	13th	May 24, 1813, to Jan'y 19, 1814
Langdon Cheves	South Carolina	13th	January 19, 1814, to March 4, 1815
Henry Clay	Kentucky	14th	December 4, 1815, to March 4, 1817
" "	"	15th	December 1, 1817, to March 4, 1819
" "	"	16th	December 6, 1819, to May 15, 1820
John W. Taylor	New York	16th	November 15, 1820, to March 4, 1821
Philip P. Barbour	Virginia	17th	December 4, 1821, to March 4, 1823
Henry Clay	Kentucky	18th	December 1, 1823, to March 4, 1825
John W. Taylor	New York	19th	December 5, 1825, to March 4, 1827
Andrew Stevenson	Virginia	20th	December 3, 1827, to March 4, 1829
" "	"	21st	December 7, 1829, to March 4, 1831
" "	"	22d	December 5, 1831, to March 4, 1833
" "	"	23d	December 2, 1833, to June 2, 1834
John Bell	Tennessee	23d	June 2, 1834, to March 4, 1835
James K. Polk	"	24th	December 7, 1835, to March 4, 1837
" "	"	25th	September 5, 1837, to March 4, 1839
Robert M. T. Hunter	Virginia	26th	December 16, 1839, to March 4, 1841
John White	Kentucky	27th	May 31, 1841, to March 4, 1843
John W. Jones	Virginia	28th	December 4, 1843, to March 4, 1845
John W. Davis	Indiana	29th	December 1, 1845, to March 4, 1847
Robert C. Winthrop	Massachusetts	30th	December 6, 1847, to March 4, 1849
Howell Cobb	Georgia	31st	December 22, 1849, to March 4, 1851
Linn Boyd	Kentucky	32d	December 1, 1851, to March 4, 1853
" "	"	33d	December 5, 1853, to March 4, 1855
Nathaniel P. Banks	Massachusetts	34th	February 2, 1856, to March 4, 1857
James L. Orr	South Carolina	35th	December 7, 1857, to March 4, 1859
Wm. Pennington	New Jersey	36th	February 1, 1860, to March 4, 1861
Galusha A. Grow	Pennsylvania	37th	July 4, 1861, to March 4, 1863
Schuyler Colfax	Indiana	38th	December 7, 1863, to March 4, 1865
" "	"	39th	December 4, 1865, to March 4, 1867
" "	"	40th	March 4, 1867, to March 4, 1869
James G. Blaine	Maine	41st	March 4, 1869, to March 4, 1871
" "	"	42d	March 4, 1871, to March 4, 1873
" "	"	43d	December 1, 1873, to March 4, 1875
Michael C. Kerr	Indiana	44th	December 6, 1875, to Aug. 20, 1876
Samuel J. Randall	Pennsylvania	44th	December 4, 1876, to March 4, 1877
" "	"	45th	October 15, 1877, to March 4, 1879
" "	"	46th	March 18, 1879, to March 4, 1881
J. Warren Keifer	Ohio	47th	December 5, 1881, to March 4, 1883
John G. Carlisle	Kentucky	48th	December 3, 1883, to

* Not including Speakers *pro tem.*

CONGRESSIONAL REPRESENTATION OF THE STATES.

I. Ratio of Representatives and Population.

By Constitution, 1789.....One to 30,000.
" First Census, from March 4th, 1793..... " 33,000.
" Second " " " 1803..... " 33,000.
" Third " " " 1813..... " 35,000.

By Fourth Census, from March 4th, 1823.....One to 40,000.
" Fifth " " " 1833..... " 47,700.
" Sixth " " " 1843..... " 70,680.
" Seventh " " " 1853..... " 93,423.
" Eighth " " " 1863 ..... " 127,381.
" Ninth " " " 1873..... " 131,425.
" Tenth " " " 1883..... " 154,325.

II. Representatives from Each State Under Each Census.

States.	Constitution, 1789.	1st census	2d census	3d census	4th census	5th census	6th census	7th census	8th census	9th census	10th census
Connecticut	5	7	7	7	6	6	4	4	4	4	4
Delaware	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Georgia	3	2	4	6	7	9	8	8	7	9	10
Maryland	6	8	9	9	9	8	6	6	5	6	6
Massachusetts	8	14	17	20	13	12	10	11	10	11	12
New Hampshire	3	4	5	6	6	5	4	3	3	3	2
New Jersey	4	5	6	6	6	6	5	5	5	7	7
New York	6	10	17	27	34	40	34	33	31	33	34
North Carolina	5	10	12	13	13	13	9	8	7	8	9
Pennsylvania	8	13	18	23	26	28	24	25	24	27	28
Rhode Island	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
South Carolina	5	6	8	9	9	9	7	6	4	5	7
Virginia	10	19	22	23	22	21	15	13	11	9	10
Kentucky	.....	2	6	10	12	13	10	10	9	10	11
Vermont	.....	2	4	6	5	5	4	3	3	3	2
Tennessee	.....	.....	3	6	9	13	11	10	8	10	10
Ohio	.....	.....	.....	6	14	19	21	21	19	20	21
Alabama	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	5	7	7	6	8	8
Illinois	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	3	7	9	14	19	20
Indiana	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	7	10	11	11	13	13
Louisiana	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	3	4	4	5	6	6
Maine	.....	.....	.....	.....	7	8	7	6	5	5	4
Mississippi	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	2	4	5	5	6	7
Missouri	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	2	5	7	9	13	14
Arkansas	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	2	3	4	5
Michigan	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	4	6	9	11
California	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	3	4	6
Florida	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	1	2	2
Iowa	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	6	9	11
Minnesota	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	2	3	5
Oregon	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	1	1	1
Texas	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	4	6	11
Wisconsin	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	6	8	9
Kansas	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	3	7
Nebraska	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	1	3
Nevada	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	1	1
Colorado	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	1
West Virginia	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	4
Whole number	65	105	141	181	213	240	223	237	243	293	325

Chief Justices and Associate Justices of the U. S. Supreme Court.*	State Whence Appointed.	Term of Service.	Years of Service.
John Jay †	New York	1789-1795	6
John Rutledge †	South Carolina	1789-1791	2
William Cushing §	Massachussetts	1789-1810	21
James Wilson §	Pennsylvania	1789-1798	9
John Blair †	Virginia	1789-1796	7
Robert H. Harrison †	Maryland	1789-1790	1
James Iredell §	North Carolina	1790-1799	9
Thomas Johnson †	Maryland	1791-1793	2
William Patterson §	New Jersey	1793-1806	13
John Rutledge ‡	South Carolina	1795-1795	
Samuel Chase §	Maryland	1796-1811	15
Oliver Ellsworth †	Connecticut	1796-1801	5
Bushrod Washington §	Virginia	1798-1829	31
Alfred Moore †	North Carolina	1799-1804	5
John Marshall §	Virginia	1801-1835	34
William Johnson §	South Carolina	1804-1834	30
Brockholst Livingston §	New York	1806-1823	17
Thomas Todd §	Kentucky	1807-1826	19
Joseph Story §	Massachusetts	1811-1845	34
Gabriel Duval †	Maryland	1811-1836	25
Smith Thompson §	New York	1823-1845	22
Robert Trimble §	Kentucky	1826-1828	2
John McLean §	Ohio	1829-1861	32
Henry Baldwin §	Pennsylvania	1830-1846	16
James M. Wayne §	Georgia	1835-1867	32
Roger B. Taney §	Maryland	1836-1864	28
Philip P. Barbour §	Virginia	1836-1841	5
John Catron §	Tennessee	1837-1865	28
John McKinley §	Alabama	1837-1852	15
Peter V. Daniel §	Virginia	1841-1860	19
Samuel Nelson †	New York	1845-1872	27
Levi Woodbury §	New Hampshire	1845-1851	6
Robert C. Grier †	Pennsylvania	1846 1869	23
Benjamin R. Curtis †	Massachusetts	1851-1857	6
John A. Campbell †	Alabama	1853-1861	8
Nathan Clifford §	Maine	1858-1881	23
Noah H. Swayne †	Ohio	1861-1881	20
Samuel F. Miller	Iowa	1862-	
David Davis †	Illinois	1862-1877	15
Stephen J. Field	California	1863-	
Salmon P. Chase §	Ohio	1864-1873	9
William Strong †	Pennsylvania	1870-1880	10
Joseph P. Bradley	New Jersey	1870-	
Ward Hunt	New York	1872-1882	10
Morrison R. Waite	Ohio	1874-	
John M. Harlan	Kentucky	1877-	
William B. Woods	Georgia	1880-	
Stanley Matthews	Ohio	1881-	
Horace Gray	Massachusetts	1881-	
Samuel Blatchford	New York	1882-	

* Chief Justices in heavy type. † Resigned. ‡ Presided one term. § Died in office.

WHERE OUR CHIEF OFFICERS CAME FROM.

From the beginning of the Government in 1789 to 1884.

States.	Presidents.	Vice-Presidents.	Secretaries of State.	Secretaries of Treasury.	Secretaries of War.	Secretaries of Navy.	Secretaries of Interior.	Postmasters-General.	Attorneys-General.	Supreme Court Justices.	Presidents *pro tem.* of Senate.	Speakers of House.	Total.
Alabama		1								2	2		5
Arkansas													
California										1			1
Colorado													
Connecticut				1	1	2	1	4	1	1	3	1	15
Delaware			2	1					1				4
Florida													
Georgia			1	2	2			1	2	2	3	1	14
Illinois	2		1		2		1			1	1		8
Indiana		1		1		1	2	2			1	3	11
Iowa					2		2			1			5
Kansas													
Kentucky		2	1	3	1			4	3	3	2	4	23
Louisiana	1		1		1	1							4
Maine		1	1	2				1	1	1		1	8
Maryland			1	2	1	3		2	5	5	2		21
Massachusetts	2	3	3	3	4	5		1	5	4	2	4	36
Michigan			1		1		2				2		6
Minnesota				1									1
Mississippi				1	1		1				1		4
Missouri							1		1		1		3
Nebraska													
Nevada													
New Hampshire	1			1		2				1	3		8
New Jersey			1			3				2	1	2	9
New York	3	7	5	4	5	2		4	3	6	1	1	41
North Carolina						4				2	3	1	10
Ohio	3			4	3		3	3	3	5	1	1	26
Oregon									1				1
Pennsylvania	1	1	3	7	6	2		2	6	4	3	3	38
Rhode Island											2		2
South Carolina		1	2		2	1			1	2	3	2	14
Tennessee	3	1		1	2			3	1	1	2	2	16
Texas											1		1
Vermont								1			3		4
Virginia	5	2	6		3	4	1		4	5	6	4	40
West Virginia													
Wisconsin								2			1		3
Total	21	20	29	34	37	30	14	30	38	49	50	30	38

OUR REPRESENTATIVES ABROAD.

Country.	Name and Rank.	Residence.	Salary.
Argentine Republic	Thomas O. Osborn, Min. Res.	Buenos Ayres	$7,500
Austria-Hungary	Alphonso Taft,* E. E. and M. P.	Vienna	12,000
	Henry White, Sec. Leg., and C. G.	Vienna	3,500
Belgium	Nicholas Fish, Minister Res.	Brussels	7,500
Bolivia	Richard Gibbs, M. R. and C. G.	La Paz	5,000
Brazil	Thomas A. Osborne, E. E. and M. P.	Rio de Janeiro	12,000
	Charles B. Trail, Sec. Legation	Rio de Janeiro	1,800
Central American States	Henry C. Hall, E. E. and M. P.	Guatemala	10,000
Chili	C. A. Logan, E. E. and M. P.	Santiago	10,000
China	J. Russell Young, E. E. and M. P.	Peking	12,000
	Chester Holcombe, Sec. and Int.	Peking	5,000
Colombia	Wm. L. Scruggs, Minister Res.	Bogota	7,500
Corea	Lucius H. Foote, E. E. and M. P.	Seoul	5,000
Denmark	Wick'm Hoffman, M. R. and C. G.	Copenhagen	5,000
France	Levi P. Morton, E. E. and M. P.	Paris	17,500
	E. J. Brulatour, Sec. Legation	Paris	2,625
	Henri Vignaud, 2d Sec. Legation	Paris	2,000
Germany	Aaron A. Sargent, E. E. and M. P.	Berlin	17,500
	H. Sidney Everett, Sec. Legation	Berlin	2,625
	Chapman Coleman, 2d S. Legation	Berlin	2,000
Great Britain	James R. Lowell, E. E. and M. P.	London	17,500
	Wm. J. Hoppin, Sec. Legation	London	2,625
	E. S. Nadal, 2d Sec. Legation	London	2,000
Greece	Eugene Schuyler, M. R. and C. G.	Athens	6,500
Hawaiian Islands	Rollin M. Daggett, Min. Res.	Honolulu	7,500
Hayti	John M. Langston, M. R. and C. G.	Port au Prince	5,000
Italy	Wm. W. Astor, E. E. and M. P.	Rome	12,000
	Lewis Richmond, Sec. of Leg. and C. G.	Rome	3,500
Japan	John A. Bingham, E. E. and M. P.	Tokei (Yedo)	12,000
	Gustavus Goward, Sec. Legation	Tokei (Yedo)	2,500
	Willis N. Whitney, Interpreter	Tokei (Yedo)	2,500
Liberia	J. H. Smyth, M. R. and C. G.	Monrovia	5,000
Mexico	Philip H. Morgan, E. E. and M. P.	Mexico	12,000
	Henry H. Morgan, Sec. Legation	Mexico	1,800
Netherlands	Wm. L. Dayton, Minister Res.	The Hague	7,500
Paraguay and Uruguay	Wm. Williams, Charge d'Affaires	Montevideo	5,000
Persia	S. G. W. Benjamin, Min. Res. and Consul-General	Teheran	5,000
Peru	Seth S. Phelps, E. E. and M. P.	Lima	10,000
Portugal	John M. Francis, M. R. and C. G.	Lisbon	5,000
Roumania	Eugene Schuyler, M. R. and C. G.	Athens	6,500
Russia	George W. Wertz, Sec. Legation	St. Petersburg	17,500
		St. Petersburg	2,625
Servia	Eugene Schuyler, M. R. and C. G.	Athens	6,500
Siam	J. A. Halderman, M. R. and C. G.	Bangkok	5,000
Spain	John W. Foster, E. E. and M. P.	Madrid	12,000
	Dwight T. Reed, Sec. and C. G.	Madrid	3,000
Sweden and Norway	Wm. W. Thomas, Jr., Min. Res.	Stockholm	7,500
Switzerland	Michael J. Cramer, M. R. and C. G.	Berne	5,000
Turkey	Lewis Wallace, E. E. and M. P.	Constantinople	7,500
	G. Harris Heap, Sec. Leg. and C. G.	Constantinople	3,500
	A. A. Gargiulo, Interpreter	Constantinople	3,000
Venezuela	Jehu Baker, Minister Res.	Caracas	7,500

OUR REPRESENTATIVES FROM ABROAD

Country.	Name.
Argentine Republic	Señor Don Louis L. Dominguez.*
	Señor Don Florencio L. Dominguez.†
Austria-Hungary	Baron Ignatz von Schaeffer (absent).*
	Count von Lippe Weissenfield.‡
Belgium	Mr. Bounder de Melsbroeck.*
	Count Gaston d'Arschot.‡
Brazil	Senhor J. G. do Amaral Valente.‡
Chili	Señor Don Joaquin Godoy.*
	Señor Don Federico Pinto.†
China	Mr. Cheng Tsao Ju.*
	Mr. Tsü Shau Pung.†
Denmark	Mr. Carl Steen Anderson de Billie.§
France	Mr. Theodore Roustan (absent).*
	Mr. Horace Denaut.‡
Germany	Captain C. von Eisendecker.*
	Count Lyden.†
Great Britain	The Honorable L. S. Sackville West.*
	Dudley E. Saurin, Esq.†
Hawaii	Mr. H. A. P. Carter.*
Hayti	Mr. Stephen Preston.*
	Mr. Charles A. Preston.†
Italy	Baron de Fava (absent).*
	Marquis A. Dalla Valle de Mirabello.‡
Japan	Joshü Terashima Munenori (absent).*
	Mr. Naito Ruijiro.†
Mexico	Señor Don Matias Romero (absent).*
	Señor Don Cayetano Romero.‡
Netherlands	Mr. G. de Weckherlin (absent).§
	Baron P. de Smeth Van Alphen ‡
Peru	Señor Don J. Federico Elmore.§
Portugal	Viscount das Nogueiras.*
Russia	Mr. Charles de Struve.*
	Mr. Grégoire de Willamov.†
Spain	Señor Don Juan Valera.*
	Señor Don Enrique Dupuy de Lome.‡
Sweden and Norway	Count Carl Lewenhaupt (absent).*
	Mr. C. de Bildt.‡
Switzerland	Colonel Emile Frey.*
	Major Karl Kloss.†
Turkey	Tewfik Pasha.*
	Rustem Effendi.†
Uruguay	Señor Don Enrique M. Estrazulas. ‡

* Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary. † Secretary of Legation. ‡ Counselor and Charge d'Affaires. § Minister Resident and Consul General.

PAY OF THE CHIEF OFFICERS OF THE U. S. NAVY.

	At Sea.	On Shore Duty.	On Leave or Waiting Orders
Admiral	$13,000	$13,000	$13,000
Vice-Admiral	9,000	8,000	6,000
Rear-Admirals	6,000	5,000	4,000
Commodores	5,000	4,000	3,000
Captains	4,500	3,500	2,800
Commanders	3,500	3,000	2,300
Lieutenant-Commanders—			
First four years	2,800	2,400	2,000
After four years	3,000	2,600	2,200
Lieutenants—First five years	2,400	2,000	1,600
After five years	2,600	2,200	1,800
Masters—First five years	1,800	1,500	1,200
After five years	2,000	1,700	1,400
Ensigns—First five years	1,200	1,000	800
After five years	1,400	1,200	1,000
Midshipmen	1,000	800	600
Cadet Midshipmen	500	500	500
Mates	900	700	500
Medical and Pay Directors, Inspectors, and Chief Engineers	4,400		
Fleet Surgeons, Paymasters, and Engineers	4,400		
Surgeons, Paymasters, and Chief Engineers—			
First five years	2,800	2,400	2,000
Second five years	3,200	2,800	2,400
Third five years	3,500	3,200	2,600
Fourth five years	3,700	3,600	2,800
After twenty years	4,200	4,000	3,000
Passed Assistant Surgeons, Paymasters, and Engineers—First five years	2,000	1,800	1,500
After five years	2,200	2,000	1,700
Assistant Surgeons, Paymasters, and Engineers—			
First five years	1,700	1,400	1,000
After five years	1,900	1,600	1,200
Chaplains—First five years	2,500	2,000	1,000
After five years	2,800	2,300	1,900
Boatswains, Gunners, Carpenters, and Sailmakers—			
First three years	1,200	900	700
Second three years	1,300	1,000	800
Third three years	1,400	1,300	900
Fourth three years	1,600	1,300	1,000
After twelve years	1,800	1,600	1,200
Cadet Engineers (after examination)	1,000	800	600

PAY OF CHIEF OFFICERS OF THE U. S. ARMY.

Grade or Rank.	Pay of Officers in Active Service. Yearly Pay.				
	First 5 years service.	After 5 years service.	After 10 years service.	After 15 years service.	After 20 years service.
		10 *p. c.*	20 *p. c.*	30 *p. c.*	40 *p. c.*
General	$13,500	.....	.....	.....	.....
Lieutenant-General	11,000	.....	.....	.....	.....
Major-General	7,500	.....	.....	.....	.....
Brigadier-General	5,500	.....	.....	.....	.....
Colonel	3,500	$3,850	$4,200	$4,500	$4,500
Lieutenant-Colonel	3,000	3,300	3,600	3,900	4,000
Major	2,500	2,750	3,000	3,250	3,500
Captain, mounted	2,000	2,200	2,400	2,600	2,800
Captain, not mounted	1,800	1,980	2,160	2,340	2,520
Regimental Adjutant	1,800	1,980	2,160	2,340	2,520
Regimental Quartermaster	1,800	1,980	2,160	2,340	2,520
1st Lieutenant, mounted	1,600	1,760	1,920	2,080	2,240
1st Lieutenant, not mounted	1,500	1,650	1,800	1,950	2,100
2d Lieutenant, mounted	1,500	1,650	1,800	1,950	2,100
2d Lieutenant, not mounted	1,400	1,540	1,680	1,820	1,960
Chaplain	1,500	1,650	1,800	1,950	2,100

PAYMENTS FOR PENSIONS IN 1883.

States.	Pensions paid during the Year.				Number of Pensioners.	
	For Regular Pensions.	For Arrears of Pensions.	Salary and Expenses of Pension Agents.	Total Disbursements.	1882.	1883.
	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.		
Maine	1,948,453.54	521.47	11,938.11	1,960,913.12	11,526	11,827
Massachusetts	4,045,320.08	4,091.60	18,858.60	4,068,270.28	22,004	23,495
Illinois	5,863,544.76	5,260.30	22,643.97	5,891,449.03	23,557	25,854
Ohio	5,636,155.64	8,431.57	23,562.99	5,668,150.20	26,163	27,686
New Hampshire	2,087,449.80	4,216.72	13,264.55	2,104,922.07	11,028	11,007
Iowa	3,616,997.31	1,413.73	14,358.56	3,632,769.60	13,860	16,051
Michigan	2,755,227.40	2,760.28	14,039.04	2,772,026.72	11,999	13,080
Indiana	5,100,507.50	4,126.67	17,483.23	5,122,117.40	18,805	20,921
Tennessee	2,842,400.69	7,483.83	15,379.76	2,865,264.28	17,693	17,189
Kentucky	1,600,370.16	7,353.60	8,353.37	1,616,077.13	6,606	7,001
Wisconsin	3,282,322.78	3,515.42	14,391.13	3,300,229.33	13,033	14,653
New York	2,809,535.73	3,965.93	19,205.99	2,832,707.65	16,017	16,141
Pennsylvania	3,176,762.17	5,364.72	17,997.49	3,200,124.38	18,715	19,300
Pennsylvania	3,054,975.95	4,081.47	13,224.50	3,072,281.92	16,250	16,006
California	408,379.66	.....	5,859.22	414,238.88	1,962	2,191
New York	4,088,557.37	2,198.01	19,240.51	4,109,995.89	20,962	22,338
Kansas	4,174,624.48	8,053.01	16,438.17	4,199,115.66	15,193	17,525
Dist. of Columbia	3,572,433.21	6,970.37	22,915.73	3,601,319.31	20,324	21,393
	60,064,009.23	79,808.70	288,154.92	60,431,972.85	285,697	303,658

BALANCE OF TRADE,

Showing our imports, our exports, and the excess either way for twenty years.

Year.	Merchandise at Gold Value.		
	Imports.	Exports.	Excess.
1864	$316,447,283	$158,887,988	Imports $157,559,295
1865	238,745,580	162,013,500	Imports 76,732,082
1866	434,812,066	348,859,522	Imports 85,952,544
1867	395,703,100	297,303,653	Imports 98,459,447
1868	357,436,440	281,952,899	Imports 75,483,541
1869	417,506,379	286,117,697	Imports 131,388,682
1870	435,958,408	392,771,768	Imports 43,186,640
1871	520,223,684	442,820,178	Imports 77,403,506
1872	626,505,077	444,177,586	Imports 182,417,491
1873	642,136,210	522,479,317	Imports 119,656,288
1874	567,406,342	586,283,040	Exports 18,876,698
1875	533,005,436	513,441,711	Imports 19,563,725
1876	460,741,191	540,384,671	Exports 79,623,480
1877	451,323,126	602,475,220	Exports 152,152,094
1878	437,051,532	694,848,496	Exports 257,796,964
1879	445,777,775	710,439,441	Exports 264,661,666
1880	667,954,746	835,638,658	Exports 167,683,912
1881	642,664,628	902,367,346	Exports 259,702,718
1882	724,639,574	750,542,257	Exports 25,902,683
1883	723,180,914	823,839,402	Exports 100,658,488

Year.	Specie.		
	Imports.	Exports.	Excess.
1864	$13,115,612	$105,396,541	Exports $92,280,929
1865	9,810,072	67,643,226	Exports 57,833,154
1866	10,700,092	86,044,071	Exports 75,343,079
1867	22,070,475	60,868,372	Exports 38,797,897
1868	14,188,368	93,784,102	Exports 79,595,734
1869	19,807,876	57,138,380	Exports 37,330,504
1870	26,419,179	58,155,666	Exports 31,736,486
1871	21,270,024	98,441,988	Exports 77,171,964
1872	13,743,689	79,877,534	Exports 66,133,845
1873	21,480,937	84,608,574	Exports 63,127,637
1874	28,454,906	56,630,405	Exports 28,175,499
1875	20,900,727	92,132,142	Exports 71,231,425
1876	15,936,681	56,506,302	Exports 40,569,621
1877	40,774,414	56,162,237	Exports 15,387,753
1878	29,821,314	33,733,225	Exports 3,911,911
1879	20,296,000	24,997,441	Exports 4,701,441
1880	93,034,310	17,142,919	Imports 75,891,391
1881	110,575,497	19,406,847	Imports 91,168,650
1882	42,472,390	49,417,479	Exports 6,945,089
1883	28,489,391	31,820,333	Exports 3,330,942

	Year Ended June 30.	Amount collected.	Expense of collecting.	Per cent. of cost.
THE CUSTOMS REVENUE.	1858	$41,789,620.96	$2,903,336.89	6.94
	1859	49,565,824.38	3,407,931.77	6.85
	1860	53,187,511.87	3,337,188.15	6.27
	1861	39,582,125.64	2,843,455.84	7.18
	1862	49,056,397.62	3,276,560.39	6.67
	1863	69,059,642.40	3.181,026.17	4.60
	1864	102,316,152.99	4,192,582.43	4.09
	1865	84 928,260.60	5,415,449.32	6.39
	1866	179,046,651.58	5,342,469.99	2.98
	1867	176,417,810.88	5,763,979.01	3.26
	1868	164,464,599.56	7,641,116.68	4.65
	1869	180,048,426.63	5,388,082.31	2.99
	1870	194,538,374.44	6,233,747.68	3.20
	1871	206,270,408.05	6,568,350.61	3.18
	1872	216,370,286.77	6,950,173.88	3.21
	1873	188,089,522.70	7,077,864.70	3.76
	1874	163,103,833.69	7,321,469.94	4.49
	1875	157,167,722.35	7,028,521.80	4.47
	1876	148,071,984.61	6,704,858.09	4.53
	1877	130,956,493.07	6,501,037.57	4.96
	1878	130,170,680.20	5,826,974.32	4.47
	1879	137,250,047.70	5,477,421.52	3.99
	1880	186,522,064.60	6,023,253.53	3.23
	1881	198,159,076.02	6,383,288.10	3.22
	1882	220,410,730.25	6,506,359.26	2.95
	1883	214,706,496.93	6,593,509.43	3.07
THE INTERNAL REVENUE.	1863	$37,640,787.95	$108,685.00	0.29
	1864	109,741,134.10	253,372.99	0.23
	1865	209,464,215.25	385,239.52	0.18
	1866	309,226,813.42	5,783,128.77	1.87
	1867	266,027,537.43	7,335,029.81	2.77
	1868	191,087,589.41	8,705,366.36	4.55
	1869	158,356,460.86	7,257,176.11	4.59
	1870	184,899,756.49	7,253,439.81	3.92
	1871	143,098,153.63	7,593,714.17	5.30
	1872	130,642,177.72	5,694,116.86	4.36
	1873	113,729,314.14	5,340,230.00	4.69
	1874	102,409,784.90	4,509,976.05	4.40
	1875	110,007,493.58	4,289,442.71	3.89
	1876	116,700,732.03	3,942,613.72	3.38
	1877	118,630,407.83	3,556,943.85	2.99
	1878	110,581,624.74	3,280,162.22	2.96
	1879	113,561,610.58	3,527,956.56	3.16
	1880	124,009,373.92	3,657,105.10	2.95
	1881	135,264,385.51	4,327,793.24	3.20
	1882	146,497,595.45	4,097,241.34	2.79
	1883	144,720,368.98	4,424,707,39	3.05

PUBLIC DEBT OF THE UNITED STATES.

[*To January 1st of each year to 1842. To July 1st, from 1843–1883.*]

1791	$75,463,476 52	1838	$10,434,221 14
1792	77,227,924 66	1839	3,573,343 82
1793	80,352,634 04	1840	5,250,875 54
1794	78,427,404 77	1841	13,594,480 73
1795	80,747,587 39	1842	20,601,226 28
1796	83,762,172 07	1843	32,742,922 00
1797	82,064,479 33	1844	23,461,652 50
1798	79,228,529 12	1845	15,925,303 01
1799	78,408,669 77	1846	15,550,202 97
1800	82,976,294 35	1847	38,826,534 77
1801	83,038,050 80	1848	47,044,862 23
1802	86,712,632 25	1849	63,061,858 69
1803	77,054,686 30	1850	63,452,773 55
1804	86,427,120 88	1851	68,304,796 02
1805	82,312,150 50	1852	66,199,341 71
1806	75,723,270 66	1853	59,803,117 70
1807	69,218,398 64	1854	42,242,222 42
1808	65,196,317 97	1855	35,586,858 56
1809	57,023,192 09	1856	31,972,537 90
1810	53,173,217 52	1857	28,699,831 85
1811	48,005,587 76	1858	44,911,881 03
1812	45,209,737 90	1859	58,496,837 88
1813	55,962,827 57	1860	64,842,287 88
1814	81,487,846 24	1861	90,580,873 72
1815	99,833,660 15	1862	524,176,412 13
1816	127,334,933 74	1863	1,119,772,138 63
1817	123,491,965 16	1864	1,815,784,370 57
1818	103,466,633 83	1865	2,680,647,869 74
1819	95,529,648 28	1866	2,773,236,173 69
1820	91,015,566 15	1867	2,678,126,103 87
1821	89,987,427 66	1868	2,611,687,851 19
1822	93,546,676 98	1869	2,588,452,213 94
1823	90,875,877 28	1870	2,480,672,427 81
1824	90,269,777 77	1871	2,353,211,332 32
1825	83,788,432 71	1872	2,253,251,328 78
1826	81,054,059 99	1873	2,234,482,993 20
1827	73,987,357 20	1874	2,251,690,468 43
1828	67,475,043 87	1875	2,232,284,531 95
1829	58,421,413 67	1876	2,180,395,067 15
1830	48,565,406 50	1877	2,205,301,392 10
1831	39,123,191 68	1878	2,256,205,892 53
1832	24,322,235 18	1879	2,245,495,072 04
1833	7,001,698 83	1880	2,120,415,370 63
1834	4,760,082 08	1881	2,069,013,569 58
1835	37,513 05	1882	1,918,312,994 03
1836	336,957 83	1883	1,884,171,728 07
1837	3,308,124 07		

POLITICAL DIVISION OF THE PRESENT HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

States.	Dem.	Rep.	States.	Dem.	Rep.
Alabama	8	.....	Missouri	14	.....
Arkansas	5	.....	Nebraska	.....	3
California	6	.....	Nevada	1	.....
Colorado	.....	1	New Hampshire	.....	2
Connecticut	3	1	New Jersey	3	4
Delaware	1	.....	New York	21	13
Florida	1	1	North Carolina	8	1
Georgia	10	.....	Ohio	13	8
Illinois	9	11	Oregon	.....	1
Indiana	9	4	Pennsylvania	12	15
Iowa	4	7	Rhode Island	.....	2
Kansas	.....	7	South Carolina	6	1
Kentucky	9	2	Tennessee	8	2
Louisiana	5	1	Texas	10	1
Maine	.....	4	Vermont	.....	2
Maryland	4	2	Virginia	4	5
Massachusetts	3	9	West Virginia	3	1
Michigan	6	5	Wisconsin	6	3
Minnesota	.....	5			
Mississippi	6	.....	Total	198	124

Total	322
Greenback	1
Vacancies	2
	325

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

[Went into operation on the first Wednesday in March, 1789.]

PREAMBLE.

WE, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I.

OF THE LEGISLATIVE POWER.

SECTION 1. All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

SEC. 2. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one Representative; and, until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five and Georgia three.

When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

The House of Representatives shall choose their speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

OF THE SENATE.

SEC. 3. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

The Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

The Senate shall choose their other officers, and have a President *pro tempore*, in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside; and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust or profit, under the United States; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment and punishment according to law.

MANNER OF ELECTING MEMBERS.

SEC. 4. The times, places and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time, by law, make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

CONGRESS TO ASSEMBLE ANNUALLY.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

POWERS.

SEC. 5. Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties, as each house may provide.

Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may, in their judgment, require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

Neither house, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

COMPENSATION, ETC., OF MEMBERS.

SEC. 6. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States, shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

MANNER OF PASSING BILLS, ETC.

SEC. 7. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it becomes a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If, after such reconsideration, two-thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that house, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sunday excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

Every order, resolution or vote, to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment), shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be re-passed by two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

POWER OF CONGRESS.

SEC. 8. The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

To establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

To establish post-offices and post-roads;

To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offenses against the law of nations;

To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

To provide and maintain a navy;

To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions;

To provide for organizing, arming and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according the discipline prescribed by Congress;

To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards and other needful buildings; and

To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Con-

stitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

LIMITATION OF THE POWERS OF CONGRESS.

SEC. 9. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

No bill of attainder or *ex post facto* law shall be passed.

No capitation, or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.

No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear or pay duties in another.

No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States: and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince or foreign State.

LIMITATION OF THE POWERS OF THE INDIVIDUAL STATES.

SEC. 10. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships of war, in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II.

EXECUTIVE POWER.

SEC. 1. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

MANNER OF ELECTING.

Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant with the same State as themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal

number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said House shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice-President.

TIME OF CHOOSING ELECTORS.

The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

WHO ELIGIBLE.

No person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

WHEN THE PRESIDENT'S POWER DEVOLVES ON THE VICE-PRESIDENT.

In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

PRESIDENT'S COMPENSATION.

The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

OATH.

Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation: "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

POWERS AND DUTIES.

SEC. 2. The President shall be Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, Judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law; but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the Courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SEC. 3. He shall, from time to time, give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such mea-

sures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

OFFICERS REMOVED.

SEC. 4. The President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office, on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III.

OF THE JUDICIARY.

SEC. 1. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The Judges, both of the Supreme and inferior Courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SEC. 2. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States; between a State and citizens of another State; between citizens of different States; between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens or subjects.

JURISDICTION OF SUPREME COURT.

In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be a party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

OF TRIALS FOR CRIMES.

The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

OF TREASON.

SEC. 3. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort.

No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open Court.

The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV.

STATE ACTS.

SEC. 1. Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may, by general laws, prescribe the manner in which such acts, records and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

PRIVILEGES OF CITIZENS.

SEC. 2. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

A person charged in any State with treason, felony or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of

the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

RUNAWAYS TO BE DELIVERED UP.

No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

NEW STATES.

SEC. 3. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

TERRITORIAL AND OTHER PROPERTY.

The Congress shall have power to dispose of, and make all needful rules and regulations respecting, the territory, or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

SEC. 4. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and, on application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V.

AMENDMENTS.

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution; or, on the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by Congress; provided, that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth Section of the first Article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI.

DEBTS.

All debts contracted, and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution as under the Confederation.

SUPREME LAW OF THE LAND.

This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

OATH.—NO RELIGIOUS TEST.

The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office, or public trust, under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.

The ratifications of the Conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in Convention, by the unanimous consent of the States present,

the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names.

GEORGE WASHINGTON,
President, and Deputy from Virginia.

New Hampshire—John Langdon, Nicholas Gilman. *Massachusetts*—Nathaniel Gorham, Rufus King. *Connecticut*—William Samuel Johnson, Roger Sherman. *New York*—Alexander Hamilton. *New Jersey*—William Livingston, David Brearley, William Patterson, Jonathan Dayton. *Pennsylvania*—Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Mifflin, Robert Morris, George Clymer, Thomas Fitzsimmons, Jared Ingersoll, James Wilson, Governeur Morris. *Delaware*—George Read, Gunning Bedford, Jr., John Dickinson, Richard Bassett, Jacob Broom. *Maryland*—James M'Henry, Daniel of St. Tho. Jenifer, Daniel Carroll. *Virginia*—John Blair, James Madison, Jr. *North Carolina*—William Blount, Richard Dobbs Spaight, Hugh Williamson. *South Carolina*—John Rutledge, Chas. Cotesworth Pinckney, Charles Pinckney, Pierce Butler. *Georgia*—William Few, Abraham Baldwin.

Attest WILLIAM JACKSON, *Secretary.*

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION.

[The first ten amendments were proposed by Congress at their first session, in 1789. The eleventh was proposed in 1794, and the twelfth in 1803.]

ARTICLE I.

FREE EXERCISE OF RELIGION.

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II.

RIGHT TO BEAR ARMS.

A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III.

NO SOLDIER TO BE BILLETED, ETC.

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner; nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV.

UNREASONABLE SEARCHES PROHIBITED.

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated; and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V.

CRIMINAL PROCEEDINGS.

No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service, in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be put twice in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled, in any criminal case, to be a witness against himself; nor be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI.

MODE OF TRIAL.

In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor; and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

ARTICLE VII.

RIGHT OF TRIAL BY JURY.

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved; and no fact tried by jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any Court of the United States than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII.

BAIL.—FINES.

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX.

RIGHTS NOT ENUMERATED.

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X.

POWERS RESERVED.

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people.

ARTICLE XI.

LIMITATION OF JUDICIAL POWER.

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State.

ARTICLE XII.

ELECTION OF PRESIDENT.

The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President; and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate; the President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted; the person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such a majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers, not exceeding three, on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately by ballot the President. But in choosing the President, the vote shall be taken by States, the representatives from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as

in the case of the death or other Constitutional disability of the President.

The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice.

But no person Constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

[Ratified in 1865.]

ARTICLE XIII.

SEC. 1. Neither Slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

SEC. 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

[Ratified in 1868.]

ARTICLE XIV.

SEC. 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States, and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States. Nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty or property, without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

SEC. 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed; but whenever the right to vote at any election for electors of President and Vice-President, or United States Representatives in Congress, executive and judicial officers, or the members of the Legislature therof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crimes, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in that State.

SEC. 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State Legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof; but Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

SEC. 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States authorized by law, including debts incurred for the payment of pensions and bounties for service in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned; but neither the United States nor any State shall assume to pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave, but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be illegal and void.

SEC. 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

[Ratified in 1870.]

ARTICLE XV.

SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude.

SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this Article by appropriate legislation.

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